



Fritz ON THE REBOUND

Since the debate,
it's a new ball game.

John B. Judis

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In Salvador, Duarte and the guerrillas agree to negotiate

By Chris Norton

SAN SALVADOR

On October 8 Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte surprised everybody, including the U.S., with his proposal to meet with the FDR-FMLN, the political wing of the guerrilla opposition. He apparently felt that the speech written for his United Nations address needed to be livened up and impulsively decided to add the peace proposal.

As soon as the U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador, Thomas Pickering, found out about the peace proposal, he privately urged Duarte to drop it, according to sources here. But as *In These Times* went to press, the ambassador had refused to say publicly what position he took.

Exactly why Duarte made the proposal isn't clear. His megalomania may be part of it, one reporter said half jokingly, since "Napo has visions of a Nobel Peace Prize." Duarte may also be reacting to pressures both internal and external to push toward at least the appearance of progress toward peace.

There is a growing constituency for peace in El Salvador, which includes the Catholic Church, parts of the Christian Democratic Party and the labor movement. "A climate for dialog has been created in the country, although there are still powerful forces opposed to it. Now dialog has a space of its own," one observer, who requested anonymity, told *In These Times*. Duarte, who has opposed dialog in the past, may want to take control of the peace issue rather than allowing it to be the issue of the Chavez-Mena wing of the Christian Democratic Party.

Even groups such as the conservative business association ANEP say they support Duarte's initiative, but only for the "opening of a political space for the terrorists to participate in the political process" after they have laid down their arms. ANEP says it is strongly opposed to power sharing.

While most observers interviewed here see Duarte's overtures and the FDR-FMLN's acceptance as expanding the chances for a peaceful solution to the conflict, it is unlikely that any major breakthrough will be achieved. The observer quoted above says that it isn't yet clear "whether this is just waltzing around the table or if they'll really sit down and talk."

Meanwhile, Duarte's grandstanding has eclipsed the apparent failure of the 20-month-old Contadora peace process. After Nicaragua committed itself to signing the accord, the U.S., which in the past claimed it supported the Contadora principles, suddenly found several technical points not to its liking.

The U.S. also lobbied its Central American allies to push for modifications, and they immediately fell into line. Honduras invited the Central American countries—and not the Contadora countries, Mexico, Panama, Venezuela and Colombia—to Honduras on October 19 to rewrite the accord. The October 15 deadline that the Contadora countries set for signing the accord will have passed when yet another round of negotiations begins. The Mexicans are reportedly fuming over the U.S. sabotage of the process.

The U.S. had little intention of complying with the Contadora process, which sought to limit arms buildup, end the presence of foreign military forces in Central America and stop the aid to guerrilla forces trying to overthrow neighboring governments.

U.S. policy has been to prop up the Salvadoran government through massive military aid, build Honduras into a bastion of U.S. military might and overthrow or severely damage the Sandinistas by supporting the *contra* mercenary armies. All of that would be prohibited by the Contadora accord. Now the U.S. is complaining that as the accord is written, the U.S. would have to stop its military aid to El Salvador but no Cuban or Soviet military advisors would have to leave Nicaragua.

Nicaragua scored a brief triumph last month by announcing it would sign the accord. The move surprised everybody. Apparently Nicaragua paid close attention to the details of the accord and did its homework within the Contadora committee, ending up with a document it could live with.

The U.S. then went on the counter-offensive, calling Nicaragua's willingness to sign "hypocritical." Big U.S. guns, like Central American policymaker Craig Johnston, deputy secretary of state of Central America, were pulled out to launch a media blitz. Most of the attack focused on the upcoming elections Nicaragua has scheduled for November 4. "Nicaragua intends to have the kind of elections that have characterized Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union," Johnston said recently on the *MacNeil/Lehrer* show.

"One must question how sincere the Nicaraguans are on the treaty's democratic principles if they shut out Arturo Cruz [the former Nicaraguan ambassador to the U.S.] and the major opposition parties," said State Department spokesman Alan Romberg.

The Nicaraguan opposition originally refused to register by a July 25 deadline, claiming their demands for fair elections hadn't been met. Yet their non-negotiable demand had nothing to do with campaign procedures. Instead, they demanded that the Sandinistas open negotiations with the U.S.-directed *contras*—something they knew the Sandinistas would never agree to.

Later, opposition members admitted that they had never had any intention of running in the election. The elaborately staged return

of Arturo Cruz to Nicaragua in July had merely been part of the strategy to discredit the elections by abstaining and claiming that they weren't democratic. Their only question had been whether to register—so they could enjoy legal privileges of being a party and withdraw later—or whether to abstain entirely.

Aware that the opposition's boycott of the elections would hurt their credibility, the Sandinistas extended the deadline to register three times. Yet negotiations between Sandinista Comandante Bayarvo Arce and opposition leader Cruz recently broke down during a meeting of the Socialist International in Rio de Janeiro.

Arce and Cruz were reportedly close to an agreement, under which the Sandinistas would postpone the elections until January 13 in return for Cruz requesting that the *contra* attacks stop by late October. FDN leader Adolfo Calero had said his group, the largest of the *contra* groups, would stop their attacks if Cruz' conditions for participating in the elections were met.

But talks stopped when the opposition failed to meet the October 1 deadline to register for the election. Cruz said he needed more time to return to Nicaragua to consult with Democratic Coordinator members [the internal opposition] in Managua, and Arce accused him of stalling.

Members of the Socialist International are continuing to pressure the Sandinistas to make concessions to the opposition so they will participate in the elections. They view that participation as essential to the legitimacy of the elections.

Columbia's president, Belisario Betancur, who recently negotiated an end to Columbia's 20-year guerrilla war, has taken a personal role in mediating between Cruz and the Sandinistas. Yet at this stage it is probably too late for the elections to be postponed. They will likely proceed without Cruz and the Democratic Coordinator on November 4.

Despite moves toward peace in El Salvador, the U.S.-financed military buildup continues—more helicopters, more bombs. The Contadora process, long adrift, seems doomed by the stalling tactics of the U.S. And Nicaragua prepares for elections expecting an intensified wave of attacks by the U.S.-financed *contras*. Peace remains illusive in Central America.

THE STORY INSIDE



Said one observer, "Napo [Duarte] has visions of a Nobel Peace Prize."



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IN THESE TIMES

The new and improved Fritz Mondale

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

THE OCTOBER 7 DEBATE IN Louisville between President Ronald Reagan and his Democratic challenger, former Vice-President Walter Mondale, marked a turning point in the fall campaign. As a result of the debate, Mondale was able to shift the focus of the campaign from his own inadequacies to Reagan's.

The debate confirmed the wisdom of a shift in Mondale's strategy that took place two weeks before, while it cast doubt upon the "50-state" strategy that the Reagan campaign had adopted in mid-September.

50-state strategy.

On Labor Day Reagan had a 12 percent lead in the Gallup Poll, the largest September margin that an incumbent had enjoyed since 1972. The record of post-World War II elections showed that incumbents have tended to hold their leads into November (Harry Truman's comeback in 1948 and Hubert Humphrey's in 1968 were against vulnerable challengers, not popular incumbents). And as the month progressed Reagan's lead increased rather than decreased—at 18 percent in the late September *Washington Post* poll.

Reagan's campaign, run by Chief of Staff James Baker, had stood poised between two strategies: a cautious majority strategy that concentrated on consolidating Reagan's base in the West and South and winning the necessary swing states in the Midwest, and a bold 50-state realignment strategy that went after a landslide and an ideological, if not organizational, majority in the House. By most estimates, the Republicans would have to win back 26 House seats to recover the conservative majority they enjoyed in 1981-82.

As the polls showed Reagan leading in every state except Hawaii and the District of Columbia and Republicans closing the gap in congressional races, the Reagan campaign decided to go for broke. It kicked off its realignment strategy with the president's September 19 speech in Danbury, Conn. The last presidential candidate to speak there had been John Kennedy in 1960. Invoking his own Democratic past, Reagan appealed to Democrats to join him in November. And in that and subsequent speeches, Reagan tried to distance himself from the new right and to affirm his

by political consultant Richard Leone, who had run his successful New Jersey primary campaign against Sen. Gary Hart. Before the Democratic convention opened, Leone had convinced Mondale to make deficits the chief issue of his acceptance speech and campaign.

Leone argued that by attacking the administration's deficits and by proposing a plan to reduce them, Mondale would put Reagan on the defensive and establish his leadership credentials. The latter was especially important. By demanding sacrifices of the taxpayer, Mondale would shed his image as the "special interest" candidate who promises everyone whatever they want and would establish himself as someone able to make tough and potentially unpopular decisions.

But Leone's strategy failed abysmally.

His advice was important to Mondale's shift in strategy.

According to a senior Democratic advisor, Caddell argued that Reagan's attempt at a 50-state realignment had made him vulnerable. By emphasizing Reagan and the Republicans' achievements, it took the focus off Mondale and put it on Reagan. But Caddell warned Mondale not to make Reagan's competency or leadership abilities the focus of his attack—Reagan was at an advantage on this terrain—but to focus on the threat posed by a Republican victory in 1984.

Caddell proposed a counter-realignment strategy. Mondale would focus on the Republicans' ties to new right Fundamentalists like the Rev. Jerry Falwell and the Republicans' lack of commitment to economic fairness and decency—qualities

of leadership and that Mondale was victorious. Reagan lost because he displayed the ravages of old age: a fading memory and a tendency to ramble. For the first time since the January 1980 Iowa Caucuses, Reagan now faces the issue of whether he is too old to be president.

But Reagan's poor performance and Mondale's relatively polished display were partly the result of Mondale's new political strategy, which put Reagan on the defensive and made Mondale appear presidential.

He praised Reagan's leadership ("I think the president has done some things to raise the sense of spirit, morale, good feeling in this country..."), while condemning his attempts to cut Social Security and Medicare and his ties to new right Fundamentalists. Mondale's praise

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Mondale's deficit plan established his unpopularity rather than his credibility as a leader. Taking advantage of Mondale's proposed tax increases, the Republican National Committee ran ads throughout the country, "Vote Republican and Keep Taxes Down."

Democratic panic.

By mid-September, panic had begun to sweep the Mondale campaign and congressional Democrats. Democrats did not fear that Mondale would lose—they expected that—but that he would lose by a landslide and bring the party down with him. Over lunch, top Democratic consultants wondered whether the nation was on the brink of a 1936-style realignment that would install the Republicans as the unchallenged majority party.

A Democratic Advisory Group, chaired by former Democratic National Committee head Robert Strauss, urged Mondale to abandon his emphasis on deficits and to stress Reagan's threat to social security and Medicare. The Strauss strategy was not aimed at defeating Reagan, but at shoring up the Democratic base to prevent a landslide.

In mid-September Mondale's campaign chair, James A. Johnson, contacted Pat Caddell, who had run Hart's campaign, for assistance in polling and advice. His fear of a realignment having overcome his disdain for Mondale, Caddell agreed to counsel the campaign without becoming an official part of it.

that had always distinguished Democratic administrations. Mondale would also re-define deficits as an issue affecting Americans' stake in the future rather than as a purely economic issue.

Mondale gave his first indication of the new strategy in a September 25 speech at George Washington University. The speech had originally been designed as a foreign policy statement, but Mondale inserted a major section attacking Reagan's realignment attempt. "This election is not about Republicans sending hecklers to my rallies," Mondale declared. "It is about Jerry Falwell picking justices for the Supreme Court."

The Mondale campaign also stopped using commercials that had been crafted under Leone's direction. These widely criticized commercials tried to highlight Mondale and Ferraro's leadership qualities ("They're fighting for your future") and the danger of a Republican recession in 1985.

A new ad, unveiled the week before the debate, warned that a Reagan victory would lead to war in Central America and a Supreme Court controlled by Falwell. It concluded, "Think about the people who have taken over the Republican Party. They want their new platform to be your new Constitution. Think about that."

The age factor.

The irony of the first Reagan-Mondale debate is that it was decided on the issue

of Reagan accrued to his own benefit, making him appear generous rather than mean-spirited, and even presidential—above the object of his compliments. And his attacks on Social Security and Falwell put Reagan on his guard, forcing him to improvise statistics and articles of the Constitution.

Reagan's attempts to appeal to Democrats misfired. The president seemed lost without a script. He had to correct his own statements: "I did avoid, I'm afraid, in my previous answer also, the idea of uneven, yes, there is no way that the recovery is even across the country." And in his concluding statement, he wandered from "pockets of poverty" to a "600-ship Navy."

The debate established Mondale as a credible presidential challenger, and it shifted the burden of proof from the Mondale to the Reagan camp. Now it is Reagan, not Mondale, who must show he can do the job. The Reagan campaign has already begun to shift gears—away from the Pollyannish boosterism of its "America is back" commercials to a more concerted attack on Mondale and his tax plans. The campaigns' newest commercial consists entirely of "ordinary Americans" bemoaning Mondale's plans to raise taxes.

Mondale's strong showing in the debate and his new strategy may not have moved him to a position where he can win the White House, but he has undercut the Republicans' 50-state strategy.

After the October 7 debate, Ronald Reagan is now faced with the issue of whether he is too old to be president of the United States.

commitment to maintaining a "safety net" beneath the poor and needy.

Instead of campaigning in the West and South, Reagan concentrated on Northeastern and Midwestern states where the Democrats had expected to run strong. Prior to the debate, the campaign announced that in October Reagan would duplicate Harry Truman's 1948 train tour through Ohio—a tactic clearly aimed at winning over Democrats.

Mondale's initial strategy was shaped

The numbers, please

As voter registration totals are being tallied in election boards across the country, the numbers are showing high turnouts. Though the information was spotty and tentative as *In These Times* went to press, voter registration groups are claiming successful drives that may yet give the Democrats a chance to vote Reagan out. Two major cities—New York and Chicago—had phenomenal last-day rushes that topped all expectations. In New York, the last-day deluge added 130,000 registrants and pushed the total to 600,000 for 1984, according to Bea Dolen of the New York Board of Elections. 50,000 of those were registered on the October 4 mobilization day by the New York State Network, a coalition of voter registration groups. Dolen was ecstatic: "I think we've licked apathy here." Chicago, too, vaulted ahead on its last day, adding 82,000 new voters to the more than 100,000 registered before the October 9 deadline. Tom Leach of the Chicago Board of Elections estimates that 80,000 of these were registered by the volunteer registrars working for the Chicago Coalition on Voter Registration. These have yet to be verified by Chicago's pre-election canvass, but Coalition leader Guy Costello is pleased by the high turnout in black and Hispanic wards around the city.

And in other parts of the country, the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project—with numbers more tentative because of its counting technique—was also claiming success in reaching its goal of one million Hispanic voters for 1984. Said director William Velasquez: "The money for our voter campaigns poured in at the last minute from our traditional areas of support—businesses and churches. We ended up with campaigns in 300 cities and towns—more than we expected. I'm sure our registered voters totals will reflect this." Humanserve director Hulbert James admits that the October 4 mobilization results in certain areas were disappointing—including Ohio, Pennsylvania and some Texas cities. But James remains confident that overall totals for the country will be high and says, "we did quite well—if not by reaching our numerical goals in every instance, then by spurring on the process of voter registration in quite a few cities."

There you go again, Ron

Apparently the muffling of protesters by the Reagan-Bush Campaign Committee that occurred in Cincinnati last August was not a one-time affair (see *ITT*, Sept. 5). According to the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), people in Elizabeth, N.J., DeKalb, Ill., Buffalo, N.Y., and Bowling Green, Ohio also had anti-Reagan signs confiscated and weren't allowed to enter public areas where the president was speaking. The NLG is zeroing in on a particularly flagrant demonstration of Republican muscle—a Labor Day rally in Cupertino, Ca.—to bring the national campaign committee and the local sheriff's office into court to explain their motives. Reagan's speech drew 30,000—including 1,000 sign-toting protesters—to the local junior college football stadium in this Silicon Valley town. As others moved swiftly through the front gates to the stadium, the protesters were corralled into a nearby parking lot in the 105-degree heat and told that they would be admitted if they relinquished their signs. Some did, but the more stubborn of the lot decided to meet Reagan and his motorcade on a street leading to the stadium and express their dissatisfaction with him.

But the Santa Clara County SWAT team, in full regalia, was ready for them. They pushed them back in order to clear out the front lines for frenzied Reagan supporters. The frustrated protesters headed back to the main gate—this time sans signs—and attempted to get in. Here they were foiled again by secret service men who were asking for some sign of Republicanism. Dan Mayfield—an NLG observer—saw white tickets being drawn from billfolds and exclamations of "see, I'm not one of them." Apparently tickets were sent to a select group for the supposedly public event. Mayfield thinks the suit—which may be broadened into a class-action suit to include the aborted protests in other cities—has a good chance of winning. "You're allowed to regulate a demonstration according to time, place and manner," he said. "That means you can't block traffic or block an entrance but they certainly can't refuse you the right to demonstrate."

What are little boys made of?

A recent *New York Times*-CBS news poll shows the gender gap widening among young people. According to the mid-September poll, young men favor Reagan 75 percent and Mondale only 23 percent. Young women, though, have a drastically different view of the two candidates: 70 percent favor Mondale and Reagan was supported by only 23 percent.

And then there were 30

The American Catholic Committee—a group of mostly conservative Catholic laymen gathering to write a report on the U.S. economy to counter the expected liberal critique by the U.S. bishops (see *ITT*, Sept. 12)—is laborless now that John Henning of the California Labor Federation has dropped out. Henning resigned in late September, telling *ITT* that he had never attended a meeting of the committee. Henning's departure follows that of the one other labor participant, Edward Cleary of the New York AFL-CIO, leaving the committee's final makeup to the unrestrained pro-capitalist likes of Michael Novak and Alexander Haig.

—Beth Maschinot

Hunt bearing right in dead-even heat

RALEIGH, NC—A month before Election Day in his race against Senator Jesse Helms, North Carolina Governor Jim Hunt has announced to great fanfare that he'll attack the "right-wing combine" of Jerry Falwell, Phyllis Schlafly, tax exempt foundations, and political action committees which back Helms.

But Hunt's seemingly strong stand against the Right is undercut by a host of recent policy statements which often place him closer to Ronald Reagan than Walter Mondale.

Hunt says Mondale is wrong on the tax increase, and believes

supporters back home view him as a beacon of enlightenment, fighting for free enterprise and Christian morality. This is the paradox of Jesse Helms.

Helms is both a far-right ideologue and a dedicated man of principle. He remains hostile to the federal WIC program, which provides nutritional foods for pregnant women, infants and children, but he himself adopted and raised an orphaned handicapped youngster.

Helms trailed Hunt by 19 points in June 1983, but from June 1984 till now, the race has been a dead heat. How has



Gov. Hunt denied clemency to Velma Barfield, who will be executed four days before the election.

the deficit can be closed with spending cuts and loophole-tightening (to his credit, he focuses on the "the big oil companies"). Hunt also favors "covert action" against "communist" Nicaragua, and supports a real military spending increase of 5-7%, which is larger than Mondale's plan.

And Hunt, a long-time death penalty proponent, last month denied clemency to Velma Barfield, a rehabilitated death-row prisoner. On November 2, four days before the election, she will become the first woman executed in the United States in 22 years. To ice the cake, Hunt has recently publicized his opposition to gun control.

For North Carolina's white liberals and blacks—together about 30 percent of the electorate—Jesse Helms, of course, offers no alternative to Hunt's conservatism.

To national Democrats, Helms' attack on the food stamp program, his opposition to abortion, school busing and the Martin Luther King holiday, and his hard-core anti-communism make him the worst right wing menace since Senator Joseph McCarthy three decades ago. Yet thousands of Tar Heel families would be honored to have Senator and Mrs. Helms come to dinner.

While Democratic National Committee Chairman, Charles Manatt, labels Helms the "Prince of Darkness," Helms'

Helms made the race so close?

Simply put, Helms, who inspires the faithful with old-fashioned Bible-quoting, Armageddon-sounding speeches has simultaneously embraced an expensive, high-technology TV attack on Hunt's eight-year record as governor. Masterfully, Helms has drawn public attention away from his 12 controversial years as a senator and has focused it instead on Hunt's alleged inadequacies.

In stump speeches throughout the state, in radio, TV and newspaper advertising, Helms has highlighted three areas—the ABCs—where Hunt is vulnerable: fundamentalist morality (abortion); the use of government to promote civil rights (blacks); and foreign policy (communism).

In short, Helms' vision is to restore traditional, anti-liberal values of pre-1960s America. For Helms, civil rights is only one of the wrongs which have hurt this country.

Hunt only belatedly recognized that his failure to draw stark contrasts between himself and Helms merely reinforced the latter's claim that the Democrat was a "me too" candidate. Not until late spring 1984, nine months after Helms went on the offensive, did the Hunt campaign draw blood.

Hunt charged that Helms' voting record in Social Security, tax breaks for the wealthy and foreign policy was in fact inimi-

cal to the interests of most North Carolinians. In particular, Helms seemed damaged by Hunt's claim that Helms' position on the Social Security system endangered the pensions of elderly Tar Heels.

Hunt also slammed Helms for his associations with "right wing tinpot dictators throughout the world," including rightist Salvadoran leader Roberto D'Aubuisson and the former military regime of Argentina. One TV ad pointedly noted that Helms was the only senator to support Argentina over Britain during the 1982 Falkland war.

Hunt's latest move to the right on many issues while simultaneously attacking the Right symbolically is bothersome to those liberals wishing for more principled opposition to Helms.

But an early October *Charlotte Observer* poll suggests that

the race may have turned in Hunt's favor. Moderate and conservative whites may be focusing less on Hunt's waffling and more on Helms' far right politics and his strong TV-spot attacks on Hunt.

Although Helms and Hunt remain dead-even in the *Observer* poll, 29% of respondents said Helms "doesn't tell the truth in campaign advertising," compared to 19% saying that about Hunt.

When asked which candidate pays too much attention to "special interest groups," 38% named Helms and 28% said Hunt. It is unclear whether this represents popular reaction against Jerry Falwells' religious agenda or Helms' votes to help "big oil."

So, if Reagan's coattails don't lengthen in North Carolina between now and November 6, Helms may well lose. But Hunt's campaign this year suggests that the U.S. Senate will gain a Democrat whose basic political instincts are conservative. While Hunt will vote moderately on racial and women's equality, and maybe moderately on the environment, he will probably resemble conservative Southern Democrats like Georgia's Senator Sam Nunn on military and economic policy.

That's why, for most blacks and white liberals, as well as many other Democrats, Election Day is a chance to vote against Helms, not vote for Hunt.

—Paul Luebke

Readers are encouraged to send news clips, interesting reports, eye-opening memos or short articles to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Please include your address and phone number.

Death strikes Filipino demos

MANILA—Violence erupted anew on September 27 in the Philippine capital, leaving at least one person dead and 21 hospitalized following the dispersal of a demonstration called to protest previous police violence.

C.S. Alkalot, a young security guard, died Sept. 29 from bullet wounds sustained as police fired at demonstrators fleeing towards the building in which he was employed.

Five more bodies were discovered within several hours following the dispersal. Three have yet to be identified and rally organizers and human rights activists fear they may have been demonstrators or bystanders picked up by government authorities and later executed.

Police and human rights activists continue to investigate reports that six more bodies were discovered in the same area not far from where some demonstrators fled following the dispersal.

Ninety-two protesters were reported missing or unaccounted for following the rally. Five men were arrested, including a lawyer and a photo-journalist, and charged with sedition.

Opposition leaders believe the government has escalated its violence in an effort to forestall a militant response to the report expected to be released soon by the government-appointed board investigating the Aquino assassination.

Recent reports have said Gen. Fabian Ver, Armed Forces Chief of Staff will be implicated in the report; however, this contention is far from universally accepted. Most observers believe a lesser military man will be named. Still, there remains the possibility that the Board will accept the government's argument that Aquino was killed by a communist gunman, a conclusion that would be accepted by very few Filipinos.

Observers believe the government is now in a no-win situa-

tion. A decision implicating anyone less than Gen. Ver will be considered a whitewash, while naming Ver will appear to be a self-indictment of not only Ver, but the government itself.

Following the police dispersal, leaders of the militant Coalition of Organizations for the Realization of Democracy (CORD) and the leftist Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy vowed to continue their militant actions "at a higher level" and with some tactical adjustments and stronger self-defense measures.

J.V. Bautista, a CORD and Nationalist Alliance leader, said his groups would also be organizing those people who have already exhibited their willingness to fight the regime of American-backed strongman Ferdinand Marcos.

"Their energy is going to waste," said Bautista, one day after the demonstration. "We don't want to see random violence or anarchy in the streets, it doesn't do us any good, it just endangers innocent people. We have to harness their energy and rage."

CORD has set as its goal the organization of a nationwide general strike. No date has been set for the strike but leaders say it will be held "as soon as possible." Sober voices amongst the militants admit that much ground work must be done before a successful strike could be called. But many rally participants have noted the increase in public support for their actions. During a Sept. 21-22 overnight vigil, residents offered food, cooking utensils and sleeping mats to the anti-government activists. On Sept. 28, residents, shopkeepers and service station attendants opened their doors to fleeing protesters.

Agapito "Butz" Aquino, younger brother of slain oppositionist Benigno Aquino is a strong supporter of the opposition's strike plans. "We don't want direct confrontations with the police. So we will not announce our plans and we will strike at will."

—James Goodno



The Republican right promises to make the fast-approaching election the most ideological in recent times, and one of their most visible battlegrounds will be on college campuses across the nation. But college groups that align themselves with left or liberal causes refuse to give up the college turf easily, and most deny that the "new mood" on college campuses is as conservative as the media portrays. "The great majority of students are not beer swilling frats that run around yelling 'nuke 'em, Ron'" says the Democratic Socialists of America Youth Organizer Jeremy Karparkin. "They only want a choice that will stir them up."

The College Republicans (CR)—the youth section of the Republican National Party—are determined to give students a clear choice. In early September, the College Republican National Committee sent a letter to at least 100 of their affiliates at colleges across the country with the greeting, "Congratulations! Your school has been chosen as one of the top 100 in the United States. As a result, you have the opportunity to participate in the first annual Student Liberation Day, October 25, 1984."

"Liberation"—not a word that easily rolled off Republican tongues in the recent past—has taken on a new tone on the first anniversary of the October 25 invasion of Grenada. The CRs have seized upon the anniversary to "pay special tribute to the rescue of American medical students from the island of Grenada." Their tribute includes flying 100 of the "freed" medical students to select colleges to attract fellow students to talks and teach-ins on the importance of a strong military.

The nationwide day has all the political clout, calculation and money of a Republican-organized event—a possible medal awards ceremony for the medical students on the White House lawn on October 24 and a presidential proclamation of October 25 as Student Liberation Day, 100 targeted campuses that were purportedly chosen on the "basis of size, media markets and national prominence," and money for a three-hour TV program recapping experiences in Grenada and Iran to be shown on Chamber of Commerce's satellite network.

Jeff Pandin of the CRs says that more than 90 schools have agreed to participate so far—naming Yale, Auburn, UCLA, USC, Florida State and Georgia as a representative sample. He added that the focus would be Grenada because "the Grenada operation was a good idea and some Americans still aren't convinced of that. It also offers a good contrast with Iran because such similar circumstances had such drastically different outcomes." When asked if Student Liberation Day would address the Reagan foreign policy in general, including the administration's Central American policy, Pandin answered, "El Salvador is a tangent. Our focus is to tell

WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A DIPLOMAT IN IRAN AND A STUDENT IN GRENADA?



1980: American hostage in the custody of Iranian terrorists.



1983: Student kisses American soil after being rescued by U.S. Army Rangers in Grenada.

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN.

Published by the College Republican National Committee, 310 First St., SE, Washington, D.C. 20003

College Republican poster for Student Liberation Day.

Briefing: Battle over "new mood" on campus

what happened in Grenada and why we had to take that kind of action there."

Unlike the CRs, the five groups organizing for the National Student Peace Day—including the Democratic Socialists of America, the Progressive Student Network and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CIS-PES)—are trying to keep the larger context of Reagan's foreign policy before the students. In that vein, the rallies and forums planned—on October 25 to coincide with Student Liberation Day—will not only counter the Republicans' view of Grenada but also tackle other foreign policy questions: U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, and funding of the Salvadoran government and Reagan's failure to move toward nuclear disarmament.

The Peace Day organizers sent packages to 140 schools pleading with contacts to not "let the Right set the new campus mood." DSA's Karparkin is confident that more than 100 colleges will participate. So far his organizing efforts have taken him to 14 schools, where he said the students were "appalled at what the Republicans were doing and immediately decided it was time to reframe the Republicans' issue of 'freedom.'"

Colleges that have signed up for Peace Day events include Purdue, Rutgers, Vassar, Cleveland State, Columbia, and UCLA. Other interested organizers or participants should contact the Democratic Socialists of America, 853 Broadway, Suite 801, New York, NY 10003.

A bitter strike at Yale University has already made student activism "in" on that campus.

Student groups got busy even before 1,800 pink-collar workers walked off their jobs September 26 to protest the absence of a first contract for their union, local 34 of the Federation of University Employees (see *ITT*, Oct. 3). Some students helped set up 400 off-campus classes for professors and classmates who didn't want to cross picket lines to study. Women's groups held press conferences to support the 17-month-old predominantly female union's claims that Yale discriminates against women and minorities. (The average Local 34 member earns under \$13,500 a year; Yale undergraduates pay \$13,950 a year in tuition and room and board.) "59 cent" buttons started appearing on student shirts and jackets.

Once the strike got going, students organized the largest demonstration in years, drawing more than 2,000 to a rally to demand that Yale negotiate in good faith or accept binding arbitration to end the dispute.

The following week hundreds of students participated in a silent "witness for equality" outside Yale President A. Bartlett Giamatti's house. They watched police arrest 190 Local 34 members for blocking traffic in a peaceful civil disobedience action.

Business students at the school of Organization and Management even got into the act, toting the latest management textbooks to a press conference.

"As management students we have learned the practical wisdom of adequately compensating experienced and dedicated workers" read the group's statement. Perhaps President Giamatti is using the wrong text. We'd like to offer the president a refresher course in good management practices."

—Beth Maschinot
—Carole and Paul Bass

By David Moberg

GALESBURG, IL

THERE ARE ONLY 28 OFFICE and maintenance workers left in the giant Outboard Marine Corporation (OMC) factory here. Three years ago it employed 1,300 and was the biggest and best-paying factory in this city of 35,000 in western Illinois.

Since then the jobs have been shifted to Mississippi or out of the country to non-union, low-wage factories. If there is a recovery elsewhere in the country, it's not evident here. Recent layoffs at other factories and the closing of a state mental hospital have pushed unemployment up to 16.5 percent, not counting the hundreds of workers who have packed up and left in search of jobs or the many who have exhausted benefits or are underemployed.

Such economic devastation was one reason that Rep. Lane Evans, a young legal aid attorney, won this normally Republican congressional seat two years ago. Now Evans, whose voting records puts him in the top rank of Reagan opponents in Congress, is running to retain his seat against his 1982 opponent, former state Sen. Kenneth McMillan, an ultra-conservative who has muted his hard-line image and rhetoric significantly.

Last week Evans stood in front of the OMC factory shell with Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-MO) at his side, talking about the number one issue of the district's voters and of his campaign. "Unemployment is devastating to the individual and to his or her family, as well as to the district," Evans told the small gathering of reporters and remaining OMC workers. Besides causing social problems, it reduces local taxes, straining schools and local government (Galesburg real estate values have been dropping 6 percent annually).

"I've opposed unwise economic policies, including the massive defense build-up we've seen the last few years, tax giveaways for extremely wealthy people and big corporations," Evans said. "They are causing large deficits, which are causing high interest rates." That hurts farmers—11 percent of voters in this rich agricultural region, who in turn can't buy the farm implements normally made in the factories of John Deere, International Harvester and other firms concentrated in the main urban area of the district, Rock Island and Moline. A strong dollar hurts farm exports as well as sales of Caterpillar implements, the big employer at the southeast edge of the district. Evans linked the area's economic problems to high natural gas prices and unfair international trade, but also argued for increased federal unemployment aid, infrastructure repair and contracts for his district.

The political pitch was well-aimed. But as Evans approached his press conference, an elderly man with a soup-stained tie came up with a scrap of paper and a plea about social security problems. Evans talked to him briefly, then had an aide take the information, another addition to the list of more than 2,400 constituent cases his staff—working out of an expanded network of district offices and a mobile office in a van—have handled in his less than two years in office. That service, plus the continued presence nearly every weekend at functions throughout the district of the folksy, amiable and sincere young Congressman, may explain, more than his list of programs or his voting record, why Evans seems likely to increase his margin of victory even though Reagan will probably sweep the district by an equally strong majority.

Modern-day populist.

Evans' coalition was built on the area labor movement and consumer groups, but it has also inspired environmental, peace and women's organizations to contribute time and money. Yet from the beginning Evans has appealed to farmers, small business owners and Republican-leaning independent professionals, chipping away at moderate Republicans who were alienated by McMillan's successful 1982 right-wing attack on former Re-



Without making compromises on most issues, Lane Evans has shown how a left political program supports the values that conservatives have tried to appropriate.

needs while gradually cutting back spending for weapons and overseas troop deployments).

Although campaign polls show voters place Evans to their left and McMillan to their right, Evans also is seen as "conservative" by many voters with his talk of making the military a "lean, mean fighting machine," his support for local small businesses and his backing of veterans.

A new right group, the Mid-American Conservative Political Action Committee (MACPAC), announced in August that it was planning to spend \$25,000 in independent expenditures attacking Evans as a combination of Kennedy, McGovern and Neville Chamberlain while suggesting he was pro-Soviet because of his support for the nuclear freeze. Flying his Marine credentials, Evans indignantly called for McMillan to repudiate the group. McMillan hesitated, but when it became obvious that he was losing support quickly and reviving the old image of new right conservatism, McMillan asked the group to leave. Appealing to a deep distrust of foreign adventurism in this part of the country, Evans talks about how Reagan is "very concerned about Central America but doesn't give a damn about central Illinois."

Without making compromises on most issues (for example, Evans is regularly picketed because of his pro-choice position on abortion) he has managed to show how a left—or populist—political program supports the values that conservatives have tried to appropriate: work, family, community, patriotism. But his constituent service, hard work, easy accessibility in the district, and affable manner are as critical as any of his policies. Indeed, there are many Reagan-Evans supporters in the district, odd though that combination may seem, in part because those voters personally like each of the politically antagonistic figures.

Ronald Harms, city assessor for Galesburg, links Mondale to Carter and, despite misgivings about the deficit and military spending, generally backs Reagan. But he says that Evans has "been really available to everybody. There's a feeling that at least you can talk to him and get your point across," a sense he never had with McMillan. Besides, Evans worked hard to get the Veterans Administration to take over the closed state mental hospital. "He just doesn't say die," Harms said.

Kevin Cain, a young farmer struggling under a burden of debt, last year's drought and this year's corn rootworm, leans to Reagan because he thinks the economy may be recovering and Mondale's tax increases could slow it down. But he'll vote for Evans again: "He's made more of an effort to get out and hear what people have to say. He doesn't always represent all of my interests, but he represents them better than McMillan." Cain doesn't see an inconsistency in his votes.

"I support Reagan a little more on national policies, where I think Evans does better with local issues and interests," Cain said. "Also, it's responding more to the man himself. Maybe it's a good idea to have somebody as a check on the president," especially since he disapproves of Reagan's military spending. "After you get all these nuclear bombs, what is it going to do to get more," he asks, "bounce the rubble higher?"

McMillan is counting on greater Republican unity, turnout of more Republicans in a presidential year, more money and support from the national party (which has targeted the race, helping McMillan raise an anticipated \$420,000 to around \$300,000 for Evans), and better organization. Besides moderating his image (which includes more casual dress instead of three-piece suits), McMillan has attacked Evans' voting record. At times the attacks are misleading: Evans supports tax indexing although McMillan interprets the record

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IN THE NATION

ILLINOIS

Evans runs again on populist agenda

84 CAMPAIGN

publican Rep. Tom Railsback. Evans has cast himself as a modern-day populist (inspired by former mentor and ex-Sen. Fred Harris) and helped found the new populist caucus in the House. To Evans, populism means identifying with the needs and outlook of workers and small farmers or business owners while maintaining compassion for the disadvantaged.

That has led Evans to be an outspoken opponent of commitment of U.S. troops

to Lebanon (even though in a recent campaign debate he called for "retaliation" against those who bombed the U.S. embassy while McMillan adopted a more moderate stance); a severe critic of both military waste and expensive, destabilizing weapons systems; an advocate of better benefits to Vietnam-era veterans (a former Marine, military critic Evans was endorsed for re-election by the Veterans of Foreign Wars); an opponent of gun control (he gets an "A" rating from the National Rifle Association as well as a 100 percent rating from the American Civil Liberties Union); and a supporter of a budget freeze while arguing for expanded public jobs programs, aid to education and job training (he would shift money from the military to those other domestic

By Joan Walsh

PORTLAND, OREGON

MARGIE HENDRIKSEN, Oregon's Democratic Senate candidate, wears anger well, for a woman. She's wry and witty and can usually find an appropriate political target for her indignation.

But angry women, especially women candidates, don't win political friends. So in her race to oust Republican Mark Hatfield, Hendriksen works hard to keep outrage in check. She reserves sarcasm for her opponent's record and tries to curb it when discussing the state and national Democratic Party establishment, which has come to appear almost as large an obstacle to Hendriksen's election as Hatfield.

Sometimes, though, diplomacy wears thin. "You want to know why there are no Democratic women senators?" she asks. "It's simple—Democratic men."

Hendriksen's frustration comes from watching her campaign go from obscurity to priority among national Democratic leaders, then back to obscurity again. She got the break every longshot candidate hopes for in July, when it was revealed that Hatfield's wife had received \$40,000 (later it became \$55,000) from a Greek arms merchant whose African pipeline project Hatfield had enthusiastically promoted. Contradictory explanations for the payment gave it the appearance of a bribe or political payoff, and national attention focused on Hendriksen, a liberal state senator who had stepped into the breach when prominent male Democrats thought Hatfield looked unbeatable. Suddenly Hatfield was looking very beatable, and Hendriksen had promises of support.

Now it's October, only weeks before the election, and few of the promises have materialized. Like all of the six women candidates in the race this year, Hendriksen has found she must wage two campaigns, one with the voters in her home state, another with the holders of

"You want to know why there are no Democratic women senators?" Hendriksen (below left) asks. "It's simple—Democratic men."

OREGON

Hendriksen battles Hatfield and Dems

party purse strings in Washington, D.C., convincing each group that hers is a credible candidacy. The two campaigns are vitally linked, however, since winning over party leaders and their major donors can provide the crucial resources to wage a strong homestate campaign.

Hatfield is a popular three-term incumbent who gained national prominence as an early Republican opponent of the Vietnam War (he was politically close to Oregon's venerated Sen. Wayne Morse, the first Democrat to break with his party over the war). He has maintained his liberal credentials by being a reliable arms control advocate, co-sponsoring the nuclear freeze resolution with Sen. Edward Kennedy and regularly voting against MX missile, neutron bomb and nerve-gas production and military aid to Central America.

But the Reagan era has tarnished Hatfield's liberal image. While he has opposed much of the administration's military policy, he has supported its budget cuts—cuts that will cost Oregon \$1 billion in federal aid between fiscal years 1981 and 1985. A vocal Christian and a staunch opponent of abortion, he has fought even harder than the Reagan administration for legislation extending personhood and constitutional protection to fetuses.

Terry Dolan of the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) may have provided the best gauge of Hatfield's place on the conservative spectrum. At a forum before the August Republican convention, Dolan advised liberal Republican Senators Lowell Weicker, Charles Mathias, Robert Stafford and John Chafee to do the party a favor and leave it. Hatfield could stay, Dolan allowed, because he

was generally more supportive of the Reagan administration.

Hendriksen's political mission is to snatch the cloak of liberalism from Hatfield and point up his ties to Reagan, who in 1980 carried Oregon by only 1,500 votes (this year Oregon is considered a swing state by both parties). What makes Hendriksen's task especially formidable is that some 53 percent of Democrats polled have said they'll vote for Hatfield. But Hendriksen's campaign polls have identified issues that place Hatfield at odds with the majority of Oregon voters, and she believes he can be made vulnerable on those positions.

The Tsakos factor.

But to the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee (DSCC) the more important polls have been the ones showing Hendriksen trailing Hatfield badly. For the Oregon Democrat, like many other Senate hopefuls, those polls have determined whether the DSCC shares its scarce resources or looks elsewhere for a challenger more likely to win a seat and shift the balance in the Senate to the Democrats.

The Hatfield revelations altered the conventional assessment of the race, however. In late July columnist Jack Anderson disclosed that Hatfield's wife, Antoinette, had received \$40,000 from family friend Tsakos, whose trans-African oil pipeline project Hatfield had promoted. Other reporters picked up the story, tracking Hatfield's assertion that the money was a payment to his wife, a real estate broker, for help in finding Tsakos a Washington condominium.

When the man who sold Tsakos the condo in question denied that Antoinette Hatfield had played a role, the story

shifted. Now the money was for helping Tsakos and his wife decorate their home. Then, before a Senate Ethics Committee, former Tsakos employees refuted that story and said the money was for Hatfield's assistance in promoting Tsakos' pipeline project.

Juxtaposed with revelations that the Hatfields were selling valuables and taking out loans, the Tsakos payments created the image of a politician in need of money—one who could be bought. The Hatfields wound up borrowing \$55,000—the total received from Tsakos—and donating it to a Portland hospital. The Senate Ethics Committee has since dropped its investigation, but an FBI probe continues.

As the Tsakos revelations mounted, Democrats appeared to be moving in for the kill. The AFL-CIO put Hendriksen on its "marginal" list, encouraging unions to aid her with money and volunteers. So far labor has contributed more than one-third of the \$200,000 Hendriksen has collected so far.

But the DSCC, despite talk of making Hendriksen's a priority race, has so far done little. It sent a consultant to evaluate Hendriksen's campaign and offer his services, but he clashed with campaign staff and wrote an unfavorable report, painting the Hendriksen effort as amateurish and incapable of winning a statewide race.

Campaign manager Mona Sturges wound up hiring the Kamber Group to produce campaign media and work with Washington-based groups, including the DSCC. Says Kamber associate Donovan McClure: "The Hatfield thing should have changed the pattern of the whole campaign. Polls showed that a lot of people moved into the undecided camp, though not yet to Margie. If she'd had money to put TV spots on the air, the point spread would have closed dramatically."

The DSCC has since retreated to its earlier position, pointing to Hendriksen's low name recognition and poll standing and arguing it must put its scarce resources elsewhere. Sturges continues to criticize the heavy reliance on polls. "If all you did was poll before making a race, you'd find most incumbents are well-liked, so why even bother running? You poll for issues. You look for soft spots in an incumbent's support, for voters who could go for your candidate. But without funding you can't wage a campaign to get to those voters with your side of the story."

Feminist base.

Hendriksen's electoral career began in 1980, when she won a state assembly seat in Eugene, a liberal university city. A social worker who put herself through law school, she was Lane County Counsel at the time of her election.

She helped found the Oregon Women's Political Caucus and used her feminist ties as a base in her first campaign. In 1982 she faced certain re-election to her assembly seat, but abruptly chose to run for state senate when the Democratic candidate dropped out of the race in mid-summer. She beat popular liberal Republican George Wingard in an upset that marked her as a political comer.

Women's and labor issues have been central to her legislative career. She combines the two when possible, sponsoring legislation regulating the use of video display terminals and, most notably, establishing comparable worth as the law in state employment. She got the signature of Republican Gov. Victor Atiyeh on the bill by agreeing to incorporate an overhaul of all state employment classifications in the process. Now she takes days out of her breakneck campaign schedule to attend comparable worth task force meetings in Salem, to make sure the principles of pay equity are written into the reclassification plan and that salaries for traditional male jobs aren't simply cut.

Even before her Senate race she was active on national issues. In campaign speeches she talks openly of her "radicalization" by the Vietnam war and her recent visit to Nicaragua. She has made opposition to Reagan's foreign and mili-

Continued on the following page



Photographer Unknown

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By Lee Feinstein

NEW YORK

THE NAVY'S DECISION TO BASE a Surface Action Group (SAG) in New York Harbor brings with it conventional politics and unconventional weapons.

Surface Action Groups have been developed as part of a Navy strategy of dispersing the nation's ships, making them less vulnerable and easier to dispatch. Each SAG, led by a battleship, will be strategically placed. With bases planned for the Gulf of Mexico, the West Coast, the Pacific Northwest and New York City, the Navy will be able to send ships quickly to hotspots around the world.

For the past year, New York politicians of every stripe—especially nuclear freeze supporters—enthusiastically supported the Navy's plans to send a seven-ship fleet fitted with nuclear-tipped Tomahawk Cruise Missiles to New York City's Staten Island. In fact, while the Navy was deciding where in the Northeast to place its SAG, 13 of New York's 14 representatives signed a letter urging Navy Secretary John Lehman to choose the city. Of these, 12 also voted in 1983 for H.J. Resolution 13, which was a strong call for a nuclear weapons freeze. The only New York City representative who did not sign this letter is Ted Weiss, who has consistently opposed the SAG.

The events in New York have been repeated nationwide. In the unsuccessful bid to have Boston chosen as the site for a SAG, freeze supporters Sen. Ted Kennedy and Rep. Tip O'Neill both lobbied intensively to have the Navy choose their state. Right now, states bordering on the Gulf of Mexico are vying for a SAG to be stationed in their area.

New York politicians' statements on this issue read like a modern example of Dickens' "telescopic philanthropy." While most support the concept of a nuclear weapons freeze, they abandon this position when promised local jobs and construction contracts. Many representatives who support cruise-carrying ships for New York Harbor—including Vice-Presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro—voted last year to delay the deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe.

In a recent letter explaining her position, Ferraro said that missile deployment in New York would not heighten tensions between the U.S. and the USSR. "The question is not one of...moving the world closer to the brink of nuclear exchange between the superpowers. Rather, the question is whether New York City would benefit from the job creation and increased economic opportunity provided," she said.

Considering the SAG solely on its economic merits, the benefits to New York appear dubious. So far, city officials have pledged some \$35 million to prepare Stapleton's deteriorated piers for the Navy. But in return, the Navy base has promised only modest economic benefits, estimating that the SAG would create only 900 permanent civilian jobs, 1,000 civilian repair jobs, and 1,500 occasional construction jobs. Critics say these figures are overblown.

In July, 11 New York State representatives signed a letter asking Navy Secretary Lehman to indicate whether the SAG ships would carry nuclear weapons. Most signers of the letter doubt that Lehman will make an exception to the Navy's long-standing policy of neither confirming nor denying the presence of nuclear weapons on particular ships. As *In These Times* went to press, Lehman had not answered the representatives' letter.

Although the Navy won't say which ships will carry nuclear Tomahawks, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger testified before the House in March about the total number of ships to be fitted for them. These aggregate figures make it clear that most SAG ships will have nuclear capability.

Weinberger presented a chart showing that within five years, four of the Navy's battleships are scheduled to be fitted for

WEAPONS

Will the missile system come to the New York Harbor?



weapons would be taken off the ships of the SAG whenever the ships were docked in New York.

But others have interpreted Lehman's statement differently. According to Bush of the Center for Defense Information, depot maintenance can be compared to a 20,000-mile check on a car—which isn't done frequently.

Bush said the Navy avoids frequent unloading of nuclear weapons because it is both inconvenient and dangerous. "If they had to off-load weapons whenever they came into New York harbor, the Navy would have selected another port for the SAG."

After a meeting with the Commanding officer of the Brooklyn Naval Station, David Shorr of the New York Public Interest Research group concluded: "Off-loading is a complete red herring. Ships will be off-loaded only when dry-docked, which only takes place every four to seven years."

The Navy's Tomahawk cruise missiles are easy to hide and the Navy's no-comment policy has so far proven easy to hide behind. When asked why the Navy won't identify which ships carry nuclear weapons, Addabbo's press secretary invoked the ghost of Richard Nixon. "The Navy and the U.S. government have to look out for their security interests," Sarachek said. "The press doesn't have a right to that kind of information for national security reasons."

But according to Bush, the Navy no-comment policy has little to do with national security. Because the Russians can't know whether ships carry nuclear or non-nuclear cruise missiles without actually boarding a vessel, the Soviet Union assumes that all ships with cruise launchers carry nuclear missiles, he explained. Thus the Navy policy is not intended to confuse the Soviet Union. Instead, it "is a method of confusing the population of the cities where the missiles are stationed," he said.

By not identifying which ships carry nuclear weapons, the Navy finds it easier to dock in ports like Japan and New Zealand, where nuclear weapons are prohibited.

In the case of New York, the no-comment policy has frustrated efforts at stirring local opposition to the SAG by leaving official doubt as to whether nuclear weapons will be carried by the SAG's ships. The Navy has even refused to answer conditional questions about the possibility of accidents "if" the ships were to carry nuclear weapons. Consistent with its no-comment policy, an Environmental Impact Statement that the Navy must release before it can go ahead with its plans won't even consider potential nuclear hazards. The report is expected by October 15.

"A lot of people don't know there's a decision to be made with such implications," said Simeon Sahaydachny, chair of New York's chapter of the Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy. In fact, New Yorkers' initial indifference to the Navy base combined with New York politicians' enthusiasm for it seemed to be major factors in the Navy's decision to bring the SAG to the city.

Rep. Weiss has tried to draw wider attention to the nuclear hazards of the SAG by urging the General Accounting Office (GAO) to study the potential dangers of basing nuclear weapons in densely populated areas. The GAO has agreed to study the question although it has said that its findings might be classified. Its report is due in mid-October.

Lee Feinstein is a graduate student in political science at the City University of New York.

nuclear Tomahawks. The Navy has only four battleships in its fleet and one of these, the Iowa, is slated to be the flagship of the New York SAG. In addition, according to the chart, 148 fighting ships of all classes would be fitted for nuclear Tomahawks by 1992.

"Now that's most—really most of the war ships," retired Captain James T. Bush of the Center for Defense Information said. "That means Tomahawks will probably be on at least five of the seven ships of the New York SAG."

The Iowa is now being refitted to carry 32 nuclear-tipped Tomahawk cruise missiles, according to testimony given by Navy Secretary Lehman in March 1983. He said the Navy is considering increasing the capacity of the battleship to 360 nuclear cruise missiles within five years. The number of cruise and Pershing II missiles to be deployed throughout Western Europe is 572.

Although the Navy will not confirm that all ships capable of carrying nuclear weapons do have them, the Center for

Defense Information estimates that 80 percent of all Navy fighting ships regularly carry nuclear weapons. And in an oft-quoted statement, retired Rear Admiral Gene La Rocque has testified, "My experience...has been that any ship that is capable of carrying nuclear weapons, carries nuclear weapons."

Nuclear-tipped Tomahawks are especially destabilizing weapons because they are launched from missile tubes that can be used for non-nuclear and nuclear weapons. Before cruise missiles were developed, arms controllers verified arms agreements by counting the number of nuclear launchers. With "dual-use" launchers, counting nuclear missiles requires on-board inspection of the missile tubes—a condition neither the U.S. nor the USSR would easily agree to.

In addition to undermining efforts at freezing nuclear weapons, the SAG poses the obvious danger of nuclear accidents in New York's congested harbor. "It's like flying and basing B-52s at LaGuardia Airport," Bush said.

In an attempt to play down fears about safety, Queens Rep. Joseph Addabbo insists that none of the ships of the SAG will carry nuclear weapons into the harbor. Addabbo, whose 1983 congressional voting record was given a 100 percent favorable rating by the disarmament group SANE, led the lobbying effort to bring the fleet to Stapleton, Staten Island.

Addabbo made public a series of letters recently exchanged between himself and Navy Secretary Lehman. In the correspondence, Lehman said the SAG would not carry nuclear weapons into the harbor during "depot maintenance." According to Addabbo's press secretary, the Congressman took Lehman's statement to mean that nuclear

"The question is whether New York would benefit from job creation," Ferraro said in support of cruise-carrying ships.

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ADVERTISEMENT

By David Kline

THE DIFFICULTY OF DOING humanitarian work in a political world is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the famine-stricken Ethiopian territory of Eritrea, in the African Horn.

According to Western relief workers on the scene, as much as one-third of the Eritrean population is in danger of starving to death, the result of a four-year drought. Their plight would seem to cry out for an immediate response from humanitarian relief organizations which, given their sophisticated funding and distribution capabilities, are prepared as never before in history to respond to just such a crisis.

Surprisingly, the American humanitarian aid community has in large part chosen to steer a wide berth from Eritrea despite the immense need that exists there. Privately in most cases, publicly in some, relief officials say the geo-political high seas around Eritrea are simply too dangerous to be navigated safely.

As one relief official, who wishes to remain anonymous, put it, Eritrea's is a "politically sticky" famine.

What makes the famine "political" is the insurgency that has raged for 22 years in the Horn—Africa's longest-running war. It is a bitter conflict with strategic implications for superpower control of the Red Sea and the passage to Suez. Until 1974, when emperor Haile Selassie was overthrown, the U.S. supported the Ethiopian ruler against left-wing Eritrean insurgents. Today, ironically, the Soviet Union supports the Ethiopian regime against the Eritreans with \$2 billion in arms aid and 1,500 Soviet military advisors. But American relief agencies still have a large investment in resources in Ethiopia that they are reluctant to jeopardize.

To protect that investment, most American agencies have refused to provide aid to anti-government Eritreans, even though they make up nearly half the starving population within Ethiopian borders. Indeed, officials at the American Council for Voluntary Agencies, the umbrella of U.S. relief groups, put the total value of private American famine-relief funds going to the government side in Ethiopia at more than \$8 million annually versus less than \$900,000 for Eritrea and Tigray, another province where anti-government insurgency rages.

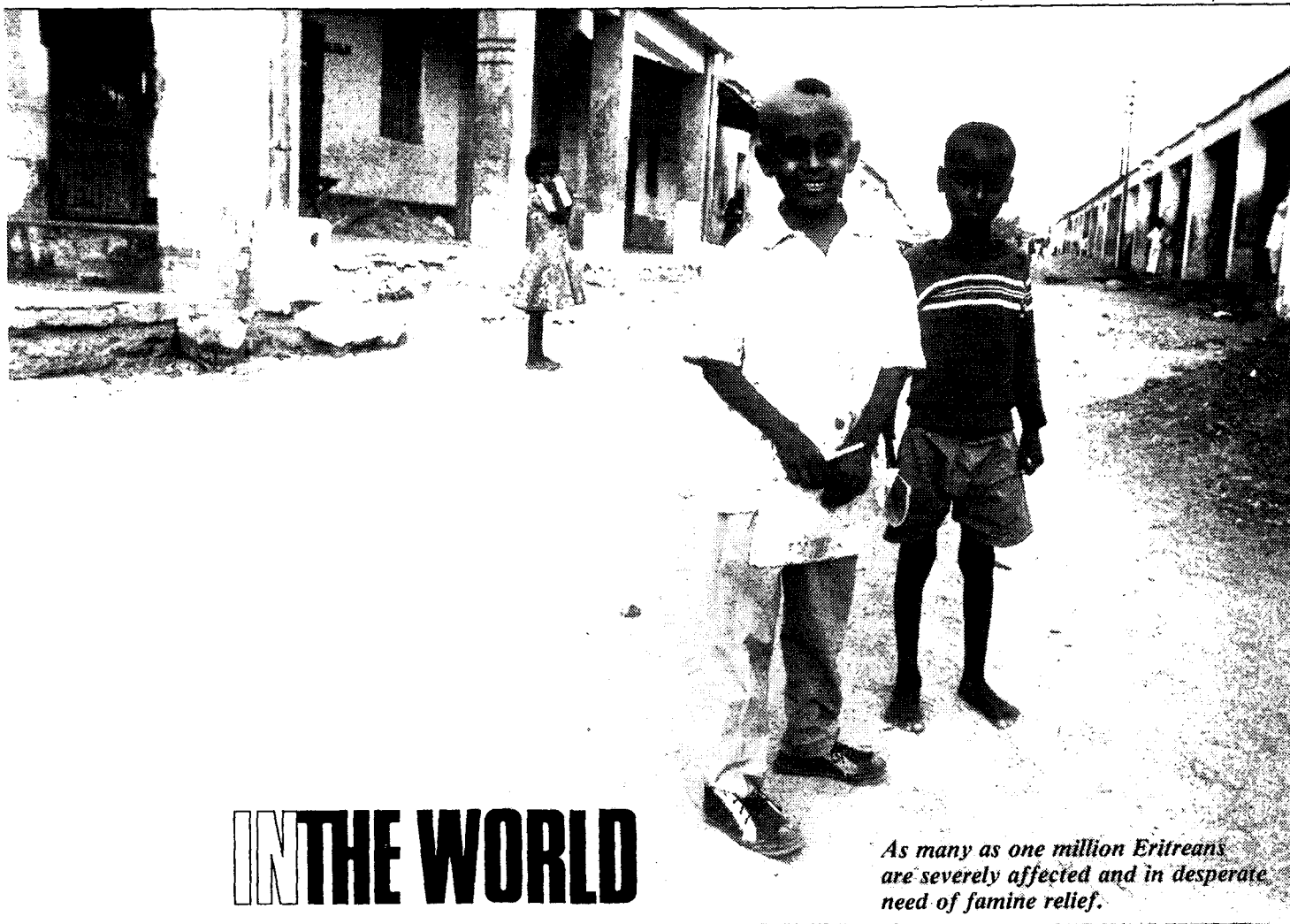
This nine-to-one ratio exists despite the fact that roughly half of the starving population within the national boundaries of Ethiopia live outside of government-controlled areas. In Eritrea, 85 percent of the population is estimated to live in anti-government areas.

Some critics—American as well as Eritrean—call this disparity in aid a scandal. Dan Connell of the Boston-based aid group Grassroots International charges that many agencies have allowed political expediency to stand in the way of their duty as humanitarians. "There's no doubt in my mind that political fears are responsible for the scandalous neglect of Eritrea," he says.

Indeed, some agencies admit that politics does play a role in their refusal to aid the Eritreans: "We're concerned that the government [of Ethiopia] would be very upset if we worked directly with the Eritreans," says Jim DeHarport of the Africa Programs section of Catholic Relief Services. "That could jeopardize our ongoing work in the rest of Ethiopia."

Another organization that has also avoided work in Eritrea is California-based World Vision, which recently refused a request from the Eritrean Relief Committee of New York for emergency aid. Dr. John McMillin, director of the agency's Relief and Rehabilitation section, concedes that the key issue in his organization's denial of the request was the fear of invoking the displeasure of the Addis Ababa authorities.

"We have a long history in Ethiopia, with a large investment in staff and resources," McMillin explains. "We had to make a choice and we tried to serve



IN THE WORLD

AFRICAN HORN

Eritrea's famine is politically sticky

As many as one million Eritreans are severely affected and in desperate need of famine relief.

John Puggan

the most people in the best way.

"But looking back on it now," he adds, "knowing what we know now about how serious the situation in Eritrea is, I'm not sure that I wouldn't make a different choice today. In fact, we're now reevaluating whether to start up some work in Eritrea."

One organization that has opted for a strong Eritrea involvement is the Mennonite Central Committee, despite the fact that five members of an Ethiopian group associated with it languish in government prisons.

"We're running a risk but frankly we felt we had no choice," explains Stoesz. "Our mandate is to feed the hungry—wherever they are and despite any political controversy—and we intend to live up to that."

Some agencies cite other reasons for refusing to work in Eritrea. The UN-sponsored World Food program, for ex-

hesitate to do the same for fear of alienating their few aid and publicity sources.

In Ethiopia, for example, government authorities have for some time been accused of misappropriating aid to feed their own troops or to pay laborers, and yet these charges have so far not been a roadblock to aid from Western sources. This reporter was told by EPLF-held Ethiopian prisoners of food supplies donated by European Economic Community (EEC) and the International Committee of the Red Cross that were used to pay laborers in lieu of salary. In addition, journalists on the scene have from time to time reported cases of EPLF fighters capturing Western-donated food stocks, intended for civilian use, from Ethiopian garrisons.

For a long time, these and other reports were dismissed as hearsay by the EEC, which conducted an audit of Ethiopian relief channels and found no

December 4, 1983, *London Sunday Times* story by Peter Wilsher, was written in what seemed to be a panic. It noted that an auditor had just arrived in the country from the UN-sponsored World Food Program.

"We are aware," the letter warned, "that as we have failed to act appropriately, the chances of the country securing further food aid could be adversely affected." The document then set out seven steps for limiting the damage, including making false registration entries and "readjusting" transport expenses.

When the scandal broke, the World Food Program indicated it would "be looking very hard again [at Ethiopia], when we have studied the letter." In late July, at the organization's headquarters in Rome, spokesman Trevor Page said, "It appears the whole problem was simply an accounting error; there doesn't appear to have been any fraud."

When asked for his view of the significance of the purloined letter, which appears to show Ethiopian government officials planning to commit fraud, Page replied, "I don't know about the letter. You've got me on that one."

As for the Eritrean side, Western observers on the ground have consistently reported that insofar as they can determine, famine aid in the rebel zones is being distributed properly. That at least was the conclusion of a report late last year by field monitors for a consortium of aid groups, principally European, most of whom also work on the government side in Ethiopia.

The consortium is made up of about a dozen organizations, including Dutch Inter-Church Aid, Christian Aid of Britain, and America's Lutheran World Relief. The latter group is by far the largest American contributor to Eritrean relief, donating more than \$500,000 in 1983.

Significantly, the consortium's other members insist on working anonymously, for fear of subjecting their projects in government-controlled areas of Ethiopia to possible retaliation.

Indeed, the project has been so secret that only after top-level meetings in Europe at the end of 1983, when field monitors reported the full scope of the impending disaster in Eritrea, did the three organizations named above even decide to go public and openly appeal for aid.

"The Eritrea crisis is just too serious. We have to speak up, appeal for aid, if we're going to help these people," explained Norman Barth, director of Lutheran World Relief. Barth spent 10 days in Eritrea inspecting ERA operations last December.

This neglect of the Eritrean famine

Continued on page 22

Dan Connell of the Boston-based aid group Grassroots International says that many agencies have allowed political expediency to stand in the way of their duty as humanitarians. "Political fears are responsible for the scandalous neglect of Eritreans."

ample, says it will work only with legally recognized governmental entities. In part, rules like this stem from the belief that non-governmental or insurgent-sponsored relief organizations are inherently "political" and therefore less trustworthy than the governments they oppose.

But this bias may be based more upon Western political prejudices than upon observable reality. For in today's world, governments often divert and corrupt aid meant for civilian purposes, whereas grassroots and guerrilla organizations

evidence of abuse. Then, to the embarrassment of Addis Ababa officials and Western donors alike, a senior official of the Ethiopian Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, Abraha Haile Mikael, defected to Khartoum, Sudan, late last year with clear evidence of violations.

Abraha carried with him a letter sent by the Relief Commission in February 1983, to its regional offices ordering an urgent cover-up of 15,000 tons of missing food aid—twice the amount, incidentally, received by the Eritreans in all of 1983. The letter, as reprinted in a

By Neil Miller

BOSTON

WHEN BROWN UNIVERSITY senior Matthew Hirsch started college, he and his classmates looked back on the involved, activist students of the '60s with nostalgia. "We would ask each other, 'What happened to us? We should be like them,'" he recalls. "There was a real feeling we were lacking something." Four years later, that generational inferiority complex is gone.

When Liz Koch, also a Brown senior, was in high school, she felt "stuck in the wrong generation." Where she wanted to be was in the '60s. Now, she says, most of her friends view that decade as "too irrational, not reasonable, with too much anger."

Although Laura Damson, who graduated from Harvard in June, envies the "common cause" of yesterday's protesting students and praises their achievements in terms of "consciousness-raising," she also observes, "We saw the generation that came before us floating around for 10 years [without direction]."

In the late '60s and early '70s, when American society was tearing itself apart over the Vietnam War and struggling with lifestyle and cultural changes, a popular way of looking at social divisions was in terms of a "generation gap" in values and attitudes between the young and their more traditional parents. When the Gallup Poll asked Americans in the spring of 1969, "Is there a generation gap?", 73 percent responded, "Yes."

Gallup doesn't bother to ask that question these days. If the term "generation gap" has an application in 1984, it seems not to be between the current generation of college students and their parents, but between the college-age group and those now in their mid-30s to early 40s—the "Vietnam generation." Polls show that on several issues, college students today have more in common with their parents than with their more radical predecessors, despite the '60s generation's milder current guise. Sixties political activist Abbie Hoffman suggested in a recent *Newsweek* interview that the '60s battle cry, "Don't trust anyone over 30," should now be "Don't trust anyone under 30."

June, 1970. Richard Nixon is president. College campuses are still reeling from protests over the U.S. invasion of Cambodia earlier in the spring. Generational politics is in full flower, and pollster Louis Harris is asking college students lots of questions.

What Harris found was a hard-core 11 percent of students nationwide who categorized themselves as "far left" politically, a number that rose to 16 percent on the West Coast and 19 percent on the East Coast. Forty-one percent of students described themselves as "liberals." Seventy-six percent advocated basic changes in "the system," although only 10 percent believed violence was the sole way those changes could be achieved.

Of course, you can read polls any way you choose. If 27 percent of yesterday's students told Harris they didn't agree with their parents' values, the other 73 percent did. If Gallup reported that 28 percent of students nationwide had taken part in a demonstration, the vast majority had not. On a Harris inventory of personalities admired by both college and non-college youth, John Wayne was admired by more young people than Bob Dylan, Richard Nixon was more popular than John Lennon. Bringing up the bottom of the list were Ho Chi Minh, admired "a great deal" by only 4 percent of those surveyed, and Fidel Castro, hero to only 2 percent. (The combining of college and noncollege youth perhaps moderated the survey's findings: polls showed non-college young people lining up with their parents on most of the issues of the day.)

Despite differences among even those who attended college, the group that came of age during the Vietnam years had a remarkable sense of generational consciousness and cohesiveness. It was not just that it developed its own heroes,

music, and patterns of dress, evolved its own living styles and sexual patterns, or imported its spirituality and intoxicants from exotic locales. It was not just that it challenged the social norms in almost every area. Previous generations had done some of those things, too.

What was particularly distinctive was a collective sense of forging a new world, that every personal act—from wearing bell-bottom pants to acquiring a mantra to swallowing a subspecies of Mexican mushroom—had political, if not millennial, implications. Add to this the opposition to U.S. military involvement in Southeast Asia and a sheltered generation's general feeling of betrayal by a political system they had been raised to view as beneficent. All these elements gave the generation its own—more militant—sense of political identity.

Political identities tend to be formed during one's late adolescence and early adult years, according to Paul Beck, professor of political science at Florida State University. The more traumatic the political events of a particular period, says Beck, the stronger the political identities individuals will carry away with them. This happened in the United States during the Great Depression, when an entire generation of New Deal Democrats was created, a political identification that

endures to this day. In the same manner, the Vietnam War, the civil-rights movement and the political assassinations and social turmoil of the late '60s shaped the world view of another generation.

So we arrive at 1984. Despite the anthropological discovery of the "Yuppie," despite media hype about Volvos and BMWs, running shoes and pasta primavera to go, studies indicate that members of the Vietnam generation have kept their political views relatively intact long after the events that shaped them have faded.

Probably the most exhaustive study of the evolution of Vietnam-generation attitudes comes from Gregory Markus, an associate professor of political science at the University of Michigan. The study, which Markus co-authored, examined the attitudes and values of some 1,669 high-school seniors and their parents. Offspring and parents were interviewed in 1965 and reinterviewed in 1972 and 1982. (By 1982, two-thirds of the original group was still participating in the study.) What Markus found was "a clear evidence of persisting attitude differences between the Vietnam cohort and their elders and also with the people who came after them. The Vietnam generation were attitudinally distinct back then, and they remain attitudinally distinct today."

Although Markus did find that those

who came of age in the '60s had modified their views on economic issues, on most issues they remained liberal "as liberal is defined in terms of lifestyle and culture." Markus says that "If you scan the whole attitudinal horizon of people from 18 to 65," you will find it "reasonably flat" except for the generation in their mid-30s to early 40s. "If you are dividing people according to age, that really is the only age group that continues to be in any way distinctive," he says.

In compiling several polls for the December-January issue of the magazine *Public Opinion*, Everett Ladd, director of the Roper Center for Public Opinion at the University of Connecticut, found much the same thing. In the early '80s, half of those polled from the Vietnam generation described themselves as "liberal" and had views to the left of the general population on a host of issues, ranging from military spending to the death penalty.

Ronald Inglehart, a professor of political science at the University of Michigan, also contends this group has not succumbed to the Big Chill, even though its members clearly dress and behave differently than in the headiest days of the '60s.

"What is interesting is that they are a highly educated, well-paid group, many



Coming of Age in the

would screw up their careers," says Abbie Hoffman. Hyperbolic, of course. But this is the way most people, including many students themselves, view the current college-age generation. Matthew Hirsch sees a large number of students at liberal Brown as "conservative politically, and careerist, interested primarily in their own security and well-being." He adds, "To tell you the truth, I think a lot of people don't have any views [on political and social issues] at all. They don't see these issues as affecting their lives in any way." Liz Koch says that at Brown and other schools there is "a generalized fear of being perceived as a fanatic. Extremes of personality are less accepted than they were."

Statistics tell much the same story. A Gallup poll done for *Newsweek on Campus* in September of 1983 found less than one-quarter of students nationwide favoring the legalization of marijuana. (This contrasts sharply with a 1970 Harris poll that showed more than half of students backing legalization.) In his compilation of polling data, the Roper Center's Ladd found 68 percent of 18- to 24-year-olds who were attending or had graduated from college favoring restoration of the death penalty, double the number of those feeling that way 10 years earlier. Thirty percent of the younger group claimed that high income was the most important consideration in taking a job, three times the number 10 years before.

Clearly, college students today are not the force for social and political change they were 15 years ago. But at the same time, it is too easy to categorize them as a mere rerun of the crew-cut, careerist students of the '50s. The University of Michigan's Inglehart takes the maverick position that the "basic values" of today's students and the Vietnam generation are actually quite similar. Inglehart, who has been studying intergenerational value change in the United States and Western Europe since 1970, labels all generations born since World War II as "post-materialist," with their priorities on a sense of belonging, quality of life, and intellectual and aesthetic satisfaction. He argues that both today's students and the Vietnam generation differ from the pre-World War II groups in that they are "less materialistic, less concerned with military and economic security."

If today's college students appear more conservative than their Vietnam counterparts, it is because of what he calls "short-term" or "period" effects—the grim economic situation of the past several years, as well as the absence of a major international crisis to engage them.

As to that '50s analogy, Inglehart notes that in that decade college students were overwhelmingly Republican, wanted the "good guys" to win in Korea, and cared only about making money once they graduated. In contrast, Inglehart says today's students are more like their Vietnam-generation counterparts in that "there is still the assumption the U.S. ought to get out of El Salvador, there is very little nationalism, very little emphasis on conspicuous consumption as there was in the '50s." Compilations by the Roper Center's Ladd indicate that in the early '80s more than 40 percent of college students felt the U.S. was spending too much on the military, nearly the same percentage as Vietnam-generation members polled at about the same time.

The stereotyped pre-professionalism of today's students has to be qualified some. Although there is an inordinate emphasis on careers, there seems also to be a kind of exploration that, though less adventuresome than that of 10 or 15 few years ago, is not totally different. Harvard's Damson concedes there is stress on "getting down to business," that even people undecided about careers "feel a pressure to know what they want." But she also emphasizes that students are more open to experimenting with jobs and career options than were their parents' generation.

When Gloria Steinem spoke at the University of Pennsylvania last year she was picketed by conservative students.

On campus after campus, the term feminist is a dirty word these days and not just in the view of the ultra-right. At Harvard, labeling oneself a feminist "comes off as very radical," according to Damson. Last year at MIT, a panel was held entitled, "I am not a feminist but..." Much attention has been paid to the "post-feminist" woman who has internalized many of the values of the women's movement but refuses to describe herself as a feminist or to view women as a group facing discrimination.

Here, the generation gap seems alive and well. Ethel Klein, associate professor of political science at Columbia University views the differences this way: the Vietnam-generation woman has "an experiential understanding of discrimination," while today's younger woman views discrimination largely as a "residue of the past." Younger women assume their jobs are going to be set for them, something their predecessors were never so sure of, she says.

Eventually, Klein maintains, these younger women will discover that there is little "room at the top" in the business world, and that what room there is the near-exclusive domain of men. "The post-feminist woman is the woman who thinks she can do it, without the recognition of discrimination," says Klein. "But for her, the time bomb is going to come. She is going to hit a door. It is just further out."

Despite these conflicting world views, there is one common concern—combining the demands of career and family. The two generations are approaching this problem from different vantage points, though. "The Vietnam-generation women have been involved in careers, but now the biological clock is ticking," says Klein. "The younger women are dealing with the personal and professional issues and emphasizing the personal, even though I believe they will have to return to the professional later on."

Like the post-feminist woman, who internalizes some values and backs off others, students today as a whole manage, in their social attitudes, to look liberal and conservative at the same time. The idea of women working seems well accepted, for example. A 1982 poll of graduating high-school seniors found 95 percent endorsing equal pay for equal work. Little more than a third believed the traditional arrangement of husband working and wife remaining at home was desirable (down from the 50 percent that thought so in 1975). But if the idea of women working is accepted, other women's issues are being reassessed. That is most apparent in the polls that show less than half of students supporting legalized abortion. Another indication is the August 5-9 *New York Times*-CBS News poll that showed markedly less enthusiasm among the 18-to-21-year-old group for the nomination of Geraldine Ferraro than among the 30-to-39-year-old group.

Despite headlines to the contrary, the sexual revolution at first glance seems alive and well. The 1983 Gallup poll of college students found more than two-thirds had engaged in sexual relations (as opposed to half in 1969). Still, more and more students endorse only monogamous pre-marital and post-marital sex.

According to Gallup, 60 percent of students think sexual relations are okay among unmarrieds who love or feel strongly about each other. But only 15 percent of the men and 8 percent of the women endorse sex with someone you know well but don't feel strongly about. Although Ladd's polls showed that in the early 1970s, 68 percent of students believed sex outside of marriage was always or almost always wrong, that had risen to 85 percent in the early '80s.

On civil-liberties issues, college students have clearly retreated, while the Vietnam generation has stood its ground. In the early '70s, for example, 88 percent of college-age students believed a Communist should be able to make a speech in their community, but only 73 percent agreed in the early '80s. And support of the death penalty jumped from 35 percent in the early '70s to 68 percent in the early '80s.

One can argue that today's students have attempted to reconcile two conflicting sets of values, giving them what Harvard's Damson calls "the best of both worlds—the experiences of our parents' generation and those of the generation that came before us." She notes that no one, women in particular, have to "prove themselves" by being liberal and liberated.

"There is an increasing realization that conservative values don't necessarily put you in your parents' generation," she says. "You can get respect by being conservative."

Clearly, there is a gap between the generations, even if one prefers, like Columbia's Klein, to label it an "experience gap" rather than a generation gap. But it

Is there a generation gap between today's college students and those of the '60s

?

is a gap probably exacerbated by each side's inability to see the other with any degree of clarity.

On the one hand, a former '60s radical says today's students represent "a political, ideological dark age." The real Big Chill, he adds, "are the people coming out of college today." On the other hand, many students characterize the Vietnam generation as having degenerated into material-minded Yuppies who abandoned idealism for urban trendiness.

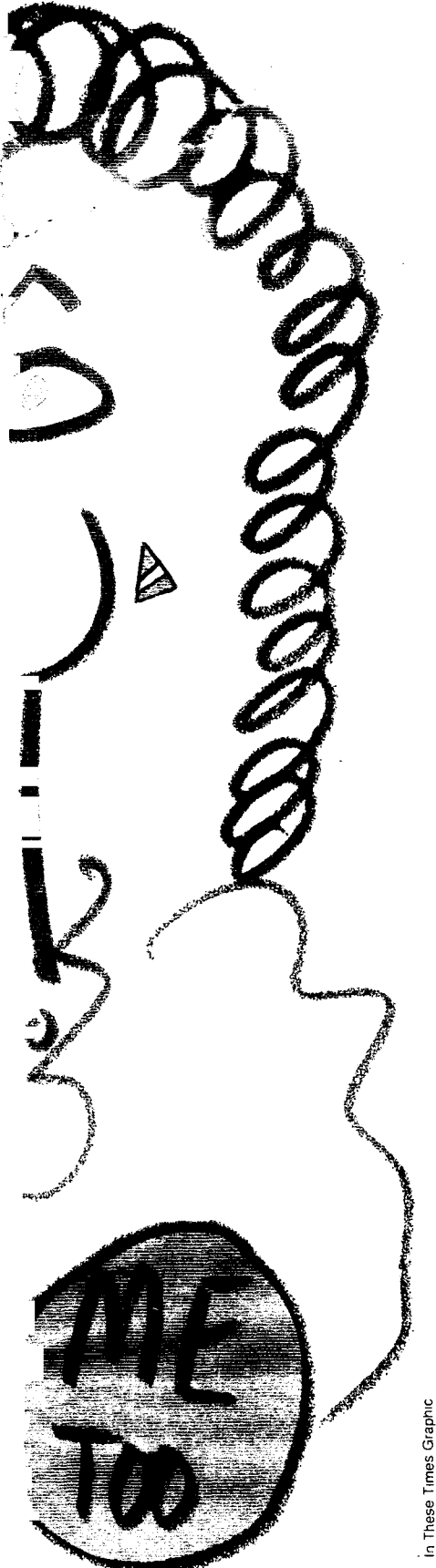
One student I talked with views the Vietnam generation as successful, rather liberal, and essentially disillusioned with the possibility of meaningful social and political change. From these "role models," he says, his generation has received a "second-hand cynicism" about activism, as well as a sense that the '60s and all they stood for were a failure.

But is that kind of cynicism really the legacy of the Vietnam generation? Bo Burlingham, former editor of *Ramparts*, an influential New Left publication, says he doesn't think so. True, the '60s failed to accomplish "the kind of revolution many of us thought we were engaged in," he says. But Burlingham ticks off a series of '60s accomplishments—civil rights, dramatic improvements in the status of women and gays, and changes in lifestyles. On the political front, "prior to the Vietnam War everyone assumed U.S. power was invincible," he notes. "Before Vietnam, the idea of allowing a Communist insurgency in Central America was absurd. Now the idea of putting down a Communist insurgency in Central America is greeted with real trepidation."

Still, many students seem only aware of the more decadent phase of the '60s. And just as the Vietnam generation took for granted the economic security their Depression parents struggled for, today's students take for granted the co-ed dorms they live in, the sexual freedom they enjoy, the increasing openness and tolerance that characterize human relations—all furthered by the activism of the previous generation of young people.

Beyond all this, the heart of the "gap" may simply lie in the sense of cohesion that characterized the '60s generation but doesn't seem to exist among today's students. As Matthew Hirsch puts it, "I was puzzled when I heard you were interested in the issue of generations, because most people I know don't see ourselves as a really coherent generation. I don't. If anything, we are a diverse and contradictory generation."

Neil Miller is a reporter for *The Boston Phoenix*, where another version of this article appeared.



'80s

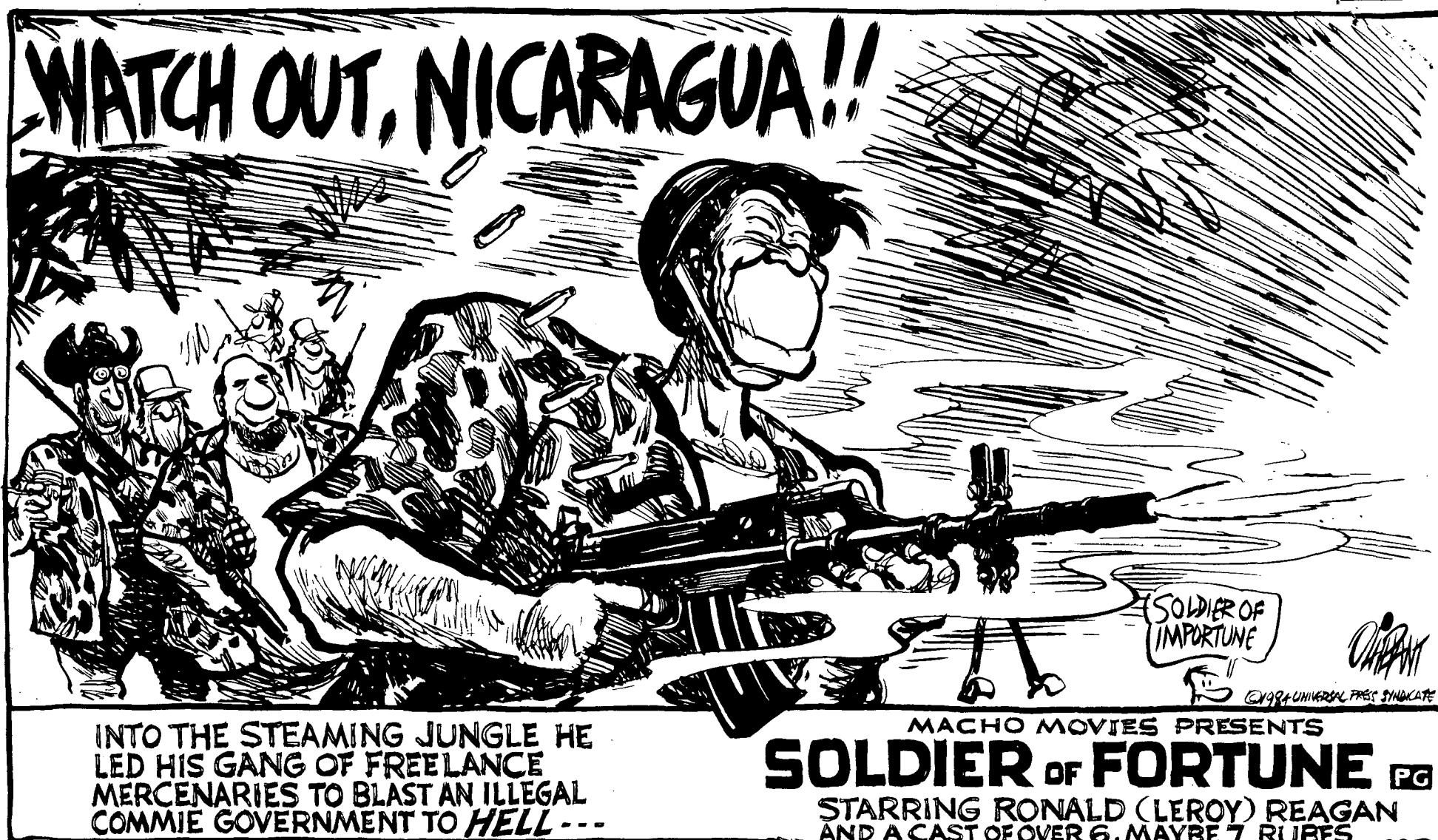
f them in positions of authority," he says. "But they still take a critical stance toward society. They are consumer advocates, they make up what consists of a peace movement today."

Inglehart argues that members of the Vietnam generation maintain the "special character and motivations" they possessed as students. The difference, he says, is that politically powerless students can only make their influence felt through protest. Today's "grown-up" Vietnam generation has more sophisticated means at its disposal. Although much has been made of their supposed withdrawal from the barricades, Inglehart credits them with virtually "shutting down" the nuclear-power industry in the U.S. and with keeping environmental concerns in the forefront. "This group didn't change," he argues, unless your yardstick for political involvement is a permanent state of "sitting-in and demonstrating."

"This generation of college students is the most mercenary in history, right? All they care about is good grades and good jobs, right?" begins an article in *Newsweek on Campus*, the pullet that *Newsweek* student subscribers receive six times each year.

"I think the reason a lot of young people are against nuclear war is that it

EDITORIAL



The president's not-so-secret war plan

With the Presidential election only three weeks away, negotiations seem to have become the order of the day for Ronald Reagan and his friends. First, Andrei Gromyko, the devil's own representative, was invited to the White House for a chat, and further talks were agreed upon, though nothing of substance was offered.

Then Jose Napoleon Duarte, Reagan's man in El Salvador, invited the guerrilla leaders to meet and discuss their "incorporation in the process of democracy... with the hope that [El Salvador] may have another popular election." Diplomats throughout the region, the *New York Times* reported, characterized Duarte's offer as "a shrewd gesture intended both to blunt the expected guerrilla military offensive and to seize the political high ground as the Contadora peace talks enter their final phase." If any of these diplomats thought Duarte was meeting the guerrilla leaders to come to terms with them, and thus to end the slaughter in that country, they didn't say so. Clearly, for the next few weeks, at least, it's appearances that count in Washington.

But even though Reagan is intent on playing down his aggressive neo-colonialism in Central America for the time being, enough is leaking out to make it unmistakably clear that he remains intent on returning to the good old days of gunboat diplomacy and banana republics after the election. Consider the following:

- On September 21 the Sandinistas announced their willingness to sign a draft treaty proposed by the Contadora nations—Mexico, Panama, Venezuela and Colombia (see story page 2). But as soon as the Nicaraguans agreed to sign, the Reagan administration found the treaty unacceptable. Acting as if they had been betrayed, administration officials said they had expected Nicaragua to reject the regional peace plan. "No one expected the Nicaraguans to accept it," one official said, "so we didn't really worry about the treaty."

In a fit of pique that revealed the administration's arrogance, several of-

ficials argued that a planned speaking trip to Los Angeles by Nicaragua's head of state, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, should be forbidden, according to the *New York Times*, in order "to punish Mr. Ortega and the Sandinistas for accepting the Contadora peace proposal."

But Washington could not stick by its outright rejection of the treaty just because it had been accepted by Managua. After a week or so, it figured out a way to "counter the perception that Nicaragua, by accepting the draft peace treaty, was more flexible than the United States," as the *Times* put it. On October 1 the State Department conceded that the treaty was "an important step" in the effort to settle conflicts in Central America, but that it required modification, especially in regard to Nicaragua's elections scheduled for November 4.

- Meanwhile, in Costa Rica, Eden Pastora Gomez had to sell his gold Rolex watch because the CIA stopped funding his attempt to topple the government in Managua. It's not that the CIA has stopped working with the *contras*, but only that Pastora couldn't accept direct American control of his forces. A senior rebel official (a CIA-approved rebel official, that is) told the *New York Times* that six months ago Pastora rejected a proposal by American and Honduran officials for a three-tiered command structure for a united rebel front. The CIA was to be on top, directing the opposition. Honduran, United States and Argentine advisors were to monitor operations. Pastora and Nicaraguan rebel leaders in Honduras were to command the troops.

Now, Pastora is out, but not the CIA. A senior American official in San Jose, Costa Rica, said he was glad to see that Pastora's former ally, Alfonso Robelo, was now allied with the Honduran *contras*, and CIA sources told the *Times* they were seeking a coordinated two-front war against the Sandinistas.

- While the CIA is running the *contra* activities on two fronts, squads of U.S. Army Green Berets are leading armed patrols through the jungle and teaching Honduran troops near the border with

El Salvador, U.S. spy flights are leaving Palmerola air base in central Honduras to follow guerrilla movements inside El Salvador and U.S. Marines are manning a communication center and lookout posts on Tiger Island in the Gulf of Fonseca, just off Nicaragua. "It's business as usual," a senior U.S. diplomat told the *Chicago Tribune*.

But not quite. The seemingly permanent U.S. military presence in Honduras is creating tension between that country and Reagan's grand plan for the region. A week ago Honduras announced that Salvadoran troops no longer could be trained on Honduran soil. This stunned the Americans and has led to "tough negotiations."

It is not yet clear whether the new military leadership in Honduras really intends to limit the U.S. role in that country, or whether it is merely trying to muscle in on more aid. But as the Americans see it, "they wanted to quit being seen as subservient to the U.S." and are "tired of their international image as puppets of the Americans." And for all we know, they might actually resent being subservient to the U.S. and of being puppets, and not just the image—something the Reagan administration doesn't seem capable of understanding.

Either way, the U.S. has quietly continued a never-ending series of maneuvers in Honduras since 1982 as "a good pretext for the continuing presence of American forces here," the *Chicago Tribune* reports. Technically, the troops are in Honduras on a temporary basis, but the 1,000 to 5,000 troops there are routinely replaced as tours of duty are finished.

For the present, all this activity is being kept as low key as possible, to avoid unfavorable publicity for the administration before the November election, military sources told the *Tribune*.

International opposition.

On the diplomatic front the administration is meeting increased resistance to its neocolonialism in Central America, both from the Contadora nations and from the European Common Market countries. At an historic conference of

European foreign ministers and their counterparts from key Latin American nations in San Jose, Costa Rica, in late September, the Common Market promised to increase its aid to the region to \$300 million in the next five years, and resisted pressure from the Reagan administration to stop aid to Nicaragua.

Acting after Nicaragua had agreed to the Contadora treaty proposal, the Europeans joined their Latin American counterparts and threw their support behind the Contadora peace process. Specifically, they endorsed the treaty that the administration now opposes. Secretary of State George Shultz in a secret letter leaked at the San Jose meeting strongly urged that the Common Market's "region-to-region assistance does not lead to increased economic aid or any political support for the Sandinistas." But Italian foreign minister Giulio Andreotti insisted that "there are no conditions on the aid," adding that Shultz's letter was ignored.

Unfortunately, so far, the Reagan administration's actions in Central America, and its attitude toward the Nicaraguan government have been played down in this presidential election. While the Democratic House has attempted to stop U.S. aid to the *contras*, its efforts appear to be stymied by the Senate and by the lack of a vigorous public campaign against the still legal and the apparently illegal administration activities in Central America.

But if the Reagan administration is re-elected, and especially if it is re-elected without being challenged in the next three weeks on this policy, we can expect a rapid escalation of the war in Central America in 1985. It will be a brutal and bloody contest. And it will be one that the U.S. cannot win. On the other hand, if Walter Mondale takes up this issue, and demands an end to administration attempts to overthrow the Nicaraguan government by force and violence and proposes a new policy of genuine respect for the national independence and sovereignty of Central American nations, there is hope for a reversal.

NATIONAL TEACH-IN

FACULTY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL Salvador and Central America (FACHRES-CA), a national organization of university professors, has issued a statement calling for October 24 to be a day of education about protest against U.S. policy in Central America and the Caribbean. The chosen date is also the first anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

The statement, signed by seven professors at colleges and universities from coast to coast, urges that October 24 be a day when "no business as usual" occurs on the campuses. Referring to the teach-ins that helped initiate and build the movement against U.S. involvement in Vietnam in the 1960s, FACHRES-CA proposes that a schedule of counter-activities to ordinary university classes be planned to discuss the nature of U.S. involvement and strategies for opposing it.

FACHRES-CA was formed several years ago in response to a wave of repression against faculty and students in El Salvador. For example, on June 26, 1980, Dr. Felix Ulloa, the Rector of the University of El Salvador, was assassinated. Then, on February 10, 1981, twenty members of the High University Council were seized during a meeting of the Council and subsequently imprisoned without charge for nearly two months. By June of 1981, the junta was already responsible for almost 2000 violent deaths in the academic community throughout the country, including 179 teachers and 1005 students.

More recently, FACHRES-CA has expanded its activities to include a variety of efforts to study and criticize U.S. policy throughout the region, as it affects many aspects of Central American and Caribbean society. These activities include the sending of fact-finding delegations of professors to El Salvador and Nicaragua; upon their return they hold press conferences and issue reports. Also, FACHRES-CA organizes campaigns to save the lives of political prisoners, makes resources available for teach-ins, and issues a number of publications and newsletters. Chapters of FACHRES-CA now exist on more than thirty campuses.

At the present time, in addition to organizing for October 24, FACHRES-CA is collecting signatures of hundreds of professors from across the country to place an ad in the *New York Times* in October. This ad will demand complete withdrawal of U.S. support to contras and to reactionary regimes in Central America, calling upon the American people to keep up their protests and not to imagine that any supposed peace candidates in the elections are going to end U.S. intervention for us.

Further information about FACHRES-CA can be obtained by writing to: Room 613 Eshelman Hall, University of California, Berkeley, Ca. 94720 (415-642-7783).

—Alan Wald
Berkeley, CA

ANOTHER CREDIBLE CANDIDATE

I HAVE JUST READ, WITH GREAT INTEREST, Joan Walsh's article about Massachusetts state representative Tom Gallagher. Gallagher has done an excellent job of combining socialism and practical politics. We can all learn a lot from his work, especially on plant closing legislation.

But I was disturbed by Walsh's treatment of the contest for House Speaker O'Neill's seat after he retires. Two white progressives, Gallagher and state senator George Bachrach, are treated as serious contenders, threatening to split the support of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). A black progressive, state representative and Cambridge city councillor Saundra Graham, is dismissed with one sentence as a fringe candidate. ("King would likely endorse

State Rep. Sandra (sic) Graham, a black woman on the legislature's left wing who has expressed interest in the contest.")

Graham has held office longer and is better known than either Gallagher or Bachrach. As a Cambridge city councillor, she runs at-large every two years in Cambridge, which in 1980 cast 40,000 of the district's 185,000 votes. Gallagher, in contrast, has run only in his own district, which cast 10,700 votes in the same election. She certainly wants O'Neill's seat—so why isn't she a credible candidate?

The only conceivable explanation is that Graham is black, Gallagher and Bachrach white. While this may influence some voters, strong progressive candidates like Ron Dellums, Mel King and Saundra Graham herself have shown that it need not be determining. It is certainly not an assumption *In These Times* should accept uncritically.

—John C. Berg
Dorchester, Massachusetts

Joan Walsh replies: I did not mean to relegate Saundra Graham to the fringe, whether because of her politics or because she is black. The article was a profile of Gallagher, not a thorough assessment of the potential congressional race, and George Bachrach attracted more attention than Graham because of his attempted inroads on Gallagher's DSA base.

CORPORATISM

YOURS IS THE FINEST WEEKLY JOURNAL in the United States although much too intellectual for many who need such information badly. I am a fan.

I am disappointed that, like so many journalists, politicians, and teachers who should know better, few of those who adorn your pages, those of a socialist newspaper, will take the bull by the horns. Corporatism, for which Ronald Reagan is merely a "front man" puppet, is daily growing more dominant in the world and no one will even call for a frontal effort to stop the juggernaut.

As the system, based solely on greed and controlled by aging white males increasingly out of touch with current economic and ecological realities, takes on water at an increasingly rapid rate your writers, even the economic experts, would rearrange the deck chairs. There is hope even before an otherwise inevitable economic collapse as the immediate losers in this game are most of us, all but the relative handful of white corporate elitists.

The quality of life declines for those who have dark skin, are women, are poor, are union members, are members of many religious varieties, are caught in a catch-22 of this system or are simply just and caring.

The ranks of potential dissidents can be expected to swell as the water level rises. They will not rally, however, to negativism, defeatism that already has Reagan re-elected and that sees a future, a real and meaningful future, of continued and likely even increasing domination of our lives by corporate greed serving its own interests.

Someone must expose the enemy for all to see and understand and offer a positive alternative. Like public democratic ownership of such vital industries as petroleum, utilities, transportation and the military.

Cooperative ownership of other enterprises, corporatism without profited greed and with democracy, is immediately viable.

I remember the admonitions of my former Indiana farmhand father when I was a boy. Said I: "I can't." Said Dad: "Can't never could do anything."

—Keith Bagwell
Phoenix, Arizona

OPTIMISM OF THE WILL (OR, GO FOR IT)

TWO LETTERS, "DISMAYED" AND "Urgency" (ITT, Sept. 19) reinforced my unhappiness with the way that

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

your paper has addressed this election.

On July 1st, you wrote, "the presidential campaign (which might be a snooze)..." I was dismayed because I feel a great sense of urgency about this election. Like you, I assume and hope that we will be active in the campaign, but who says we can't use a bit of cheer-leading?

You admit the stakes are high, thus there is no time for snoozing—or letting pessimism lead us into apathy or feeling helpless. We know each one of us does matter, but it helps to feel reinforced, not grim. I understand the realities as expressed by Woody Allen: "More than any other time in history, mankind faces a crossroads. One path leads to despair, the other to total extinction. Let us pray we have the wisdom to choose correctly."

Certainly, the following paragraphs by John Schaar express a reality we dare not ignore.

"The future is not a result of choices among alternative paths offered by the present, but a place that is created—created first in mind and will, created next in activity.

"The future is not some place we are going to, but one we are creating. The paths are not to be found, but made, and the activity of making them changes both the maker and the destination."

There is a choice. Go for it!

—Lillian Lipson
Chicago

EDUCATION

AS A PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHER OF 7th and 8th grade, I was captivated by your "education issue" Sept. 19-25. I was disappointed in the articles in that none of them were written by teachers. Joseph Featherstone made some good observations.

I would like to add a few of my own although a major treatise could be written. If a student is to receive a good education it will require the active cooperative efforts of the student, the teacher and the parents. The student is

going to have to stand on his/her own two feet and not be a passive recipient. Few will deny our educational system is modeled on a factory where over-sized classes are moved through graduating functional illiterates. No wonder much of our leadership is mediocre at best.

I believe more than 90 percent of our teachers are concerned professionals who try to be creative and imaginative in giving their students the best education possible. But they are faced with the current catchword, accountability.

This leads to staggering amounts of paperwork in the classroom and divisive notions such as merit pay plans. Not one merit pay plan have I seen would reward a good teacher. They are based on tests and observations which in their clinical nature have little to do with the daily interactions in the classroom. Those dynamics can not be objectively measured. And then we must ask, are we teaching students to learn and learn the skills they need to survive or are we teaching them to score well on tests?

Rather than talk about requiring more homework, and increasing school days, we should raise teacher salaries and allow teachers to teach providing incentives for teachers to do their best (could be monetary). Students also need some motivation and incentive from outside the school to do their best as we, as teachers, spend most of our energies on motivation. This is a social responsibility which ranges from parents to our society at large assuring them a secure world free of nuclear annihilation and an opportunity for gainful employment. We need to emphasize the need for quality in life.

—Rory Karlson
Ft. Lauderdale, Florida

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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PERSPECTIVES

New system forms in Poland



By David Ost

I FEEL I BELONG TO THE GENERATION that will overthrow this system and begin to build a new one," said Zbigniew Bujak, a 29-year-old leader of the Solidarity underground in a recent interview. "Wrong," an underground activist responded when he heard Bujak's comment. "We may not actually overthrow this system, but we have already begun to build the new one."

The perseverance of the Polish underground is probably the most astonishing phenomenon in modern East Europe. Its

ability to survive so long and retain such influence in public life is without precedent in the Soviet bloc.

But what is the underground? The term itself, with its connotation of a tight-knit conspiracy with an organizational center, can be misleading. The defining features of the underground in Poland are its extreme decentralization, encouragement of initiative and hostility to imposition of organizational discipline. This loose organization is a product of choice and necessity. Choice, because since the whole premise of Solidarity was initiative from below, violating that principle seemed a particularly inappropriate way of organizing the union's

Solidarity is gone, but a new "underground society" has taken its place.

continuity. And necessary, both because people had imbibed that sense of subjectivity and would not submit to a single authority, and because with telephones cut off and travel banned in the first weeks of martial law, it was impossible to impose any discipline at the beginning.

When Solidarity was outlawed in December 1981, there was a spontaneous return to pre-Solidarity forms of opposition, a pluralism of independent groups. But when it became clear that the military regime would not give way and could not be easily overthrown, the underground's expressed goal became the organization of an "underground society." They developed an independent, uncensored and illegal cultural and social life that offered an alternative to the existing system. This strategy has proved remarkably durable and influential.

Today, this "underground society" publishes more than 250 periodicals, ranging from mimeographed factory newsletters and local discussion bulletins to offset-printed regional and national weeklies and theoretical journals. At least six independent publishing houses offer novels and short stories as well as political tracts and essays. An extensive network of artists and actors stage independent, uncensored plays, concerts, poetry readings and art exhibits in private houses and church basements.

Independent educational activity, in the spirit of the socialist learning societies of the past, today revolves around an expanding network of lectures and discussion groups, usually taught by professors and assistants from nearby universities. The underground has even begun printing postage stamps and minting coins, selling them as collectors' items to raise money for other activities.

Discussing tactics, assessing the future and exposing repression are the main topics in the underground press. There has been a marked improvement in quality over the past year and a half. The imposition of martial law delivered a crushing enough blow to render political thought temporarily apoplectic. The 1982 underground press was written overwhelmingly in moral language that, although not alien to Polish culture in general, sharply contrasted the serious political, realistic (even if simultaneously utopian) writing of the late Solidarity period. But this has changed, and the press now carries serious pieces on the economic situation, the political stalemate, lessons of the past, discussion on the role of the Church and debate on strategy. Unfortunately, there continues to be little discussion of international affairs.

This lack of intelligent criticism of the West is one of the gravest problems of Polish political culture. President Reagan,

for example, continues to be looked upon exclusively for his value, particularly symbolic, to the Polish opposition, and is rarely discussed, even by intellectuals, in any other context. Consequently, Reagan is probably more popular in Poland than in any other country.

The influential underground paper KOS (Blackbird) has been the main force arguing for a more balanced picture of the world. Its founder, David Warszawski, has called on the opposition to turn toward the Western left as a main ally. This position, however, clearly represents a minority view.

Four groups.

Broadly speaking, the Polish underground can be divided into four groups: known leaders in hiding, local activists who work anonymously or pseudonymously, organizational assistants and consumers.

Thousands went into hiding with the declaration of martial law, but today the number has dwindled to only a couple of dozen. Those who remain in hiding are well-known figures, particularly those in the Interim Coordinating Committee of Solidarity, made up of those leaders lucky enough to avoid arrest. Their continued underground existence is considered a symbolic victory for the old Solidarity. They sign their names to appeals and are still considered the heart of the Solidarity underground. This tiny group constitutes the "official underground" in Poland. The real strength of the underground, however, lies with the other groups.

Local activists, numbering several thousand, include publishers and writers of the underground press, as well as organizers and coordinators of the myriad small, conspiratorial circles that distribute the press and execute activities either suggested by the "official" underground or decided upon themselves. These men and women, usually in their 20s and 30s, complement their legal existence with a conspiratorial one, often concealed even from friends.

There are four main conspiratorial groups: the first are secret Solidarity trade union branches, which exist in many workplaces, including most factories. Although unable to negotiate with management, these trade union cells (something like the old Spanish "workers commissions," which have in fact been a model for many Polish theoreticians) publish factory newsletters or distribute other underground press, collect dues (albeit from a dwindling number) and simply try to persevere.

Second, there are underground cells of five to ten people, based on acquaintance rather than profession, which may distribute literature, draw up posters, organize lectures, and so on. The third type are political organizations, not claiming to "represent Solidarity" but claiming to be working toward the same general goals. Ranging from anarchist and social-democrat to Christian democrat and conservative, these groups publish journals, propose programs and vie for influence in the underground at large. Finally, there are local coordinating groups that bring together representatives from the other organizations.

The "organizational assistants" are indispensable individuals who help with such essential tasks as procuring materials (ie, stencils, paper, ink), and finding safe houses, but who refrain from any permanent, full-time commitment. They probably number in the tens of thousands.

The "consumers" are those to whom this broad underground speaks, as readers of the uncensored press or perhaps the audience at uncensored artistic presentations. The consumers of underground culture number in the millions.

Thus the underground is not just a political phenomenon, and its influence cannot be gauged simply by assessing its political success.

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The work of new activists makes the perseverance of the underground particularly impressive. The veteran oppositionists, as well as those who became important leaders during the Solidarity period were imprisoned in December 1981. A serious resistance had to be mounted by people who had no previous experience. No one writes about these new activists. They shun the limelight but also do not have the contacts with the foreign press that the pre-Solidarity opposition had. This stems from their different class base.

The opposition of the late '70s was founded by, and rooted in, the critical and humanist intelligentsia, who were well-traveled, multilingual and acutely aware of the need for a good foreign press (much of which filters back into Poland on short-wave radio). The opposition had made some inroads into the working class, particularly in Gdansk and Silesia, but its most consistent support came from the intelligentsia, including professionals and technicians whose desires for rational reform were continually frustrated from above.

Since martial law, however, the underground has been organized by the working class. This is due in part to the inefficiency of the police. Since internment lists were drawn up many months before martial law was actually imposed, they included intellectuals active before Solidarity, even if they had since ceased their activity, and omitted many workers who had become politically active only during Solidarity. But the main reason the working class is now taking the initiative is that workers went through radical changes during the Solidarity period, attaining a "subjectivity" they never knew they had.

The Solidarity press frequently wrote of the "revolution in subjectivity"—ignited awareness that people could initiate action on their own without waiting for orders or permission from above. The change was not only internal. Workers had experienced a changed social world, where a plurality of political views and concrete proposals became a fundamental part of life.

New leaders.

Jacek, a 30-year-old metal worker from a city in central Poland, was not involved in politics before 1980. "I had heard that there were such people as oppositionists," he told me in the 1½-room apartment he shares with his wife and two small children. "I even saw one of their newsletters once. But I thought they were all a bit crazy, and didn't pay any attention."

Yet as a worker, Jacek could not help but be aware of the waste in his own plant, the corruption of his superiors and the lies of the official media when it spoke only of great economic success.

He belonged to the trade union ("because that's what one did then"), but when the opportunity to form independent unions came in 1980, he knew what he had to do. Jacek was not a founding member of Solidarity at his plant, but he joined the new union at once, and after two months was elected to its five-person Factory Commission. He concerned himself chiefly with rooting out corruption at the plant. Jacek served in the Factory Commission until the imposition of martial law, when he was warned by the police but not interned.

The Solidarity leader at Jacek's plant, a fiery militant who had devoted much energy to the expulsion of the Party from the plant when this became an issue in late fall 1981, was interned immediately. For Jacek, the vacuum of leadership meant a new burden of responsibility. "It seemed that someone just had to take his place."

But unlike his imprisoned leader, Jacek did not believe he knew all the answers. He was not sure if he favored fighting for free elections to Parliament. He did not know if it was right to demand full independence for Poland. He wasn't sure whether or where he favored private, state or group ownership, and was also undecided on the question of Western credits.

The interned factory leader, however,

had had answers on all these questions, and at first Jacek felt he should have them too. But he knew the only way he could learn answers was by hearing more discussion, and the only way there could be such discussion was by fighting for the right to talk about these issues publicly, in the press, in the conference hall, on the radio.

There was other work to be done as well, work less grandiose but of more immediate concern, such as improving working conditions or making the job more meaningful. If anything were to happen, he knew independent trade unions were needed. So Jacek plunged back into activity, organizing illegal union work in the factories, making contacts with other underground circles locally and printing and distributing underground bulletins and political texts.

The thousands of people like Jacek, who make up the heart of the present underground, are the true offspring of

Solidarity's "self-limiting revolution." Their modesty, lack of personal ambition, toleration of and even insistence on diverse viewpoints are the products of the massive process of democratization from below that was the defining feature of this period. They admit they don't know the answers while previous activists, including many suddenly elevated to leadership within legal Solidarity, often felt compelled to have ready answers for everything.

It is the difference between a generation that came of age politically, in a milieu marked by the domination of a single Party claiming a monopoly on knowledge and using a tight censorship to enforce it, and a generation who matured at a time when the government was suddenly not all-powerful, censorship was in ruins and free political discussion and initiative took hold everywhere.

Activists like Jacek don't wish to prevent anyone from speaking. They gladly

distribute underground bulletins of the most diverse and even antagonistic viewpoints because they know, thanks to the 16 months of revolution, that ideas can develop only in conditions of full freedom of expression. They know that no one has a monopoly on truth. This new generation of activists seems more willing to learn from other countries, even the Third World, than previous activists have been. When they began thinking in more complex categories, they stopped thinking in the black-and-white ones that marred the thinking of many previous activists.

The Solidarity experience has created a new underground different from any East Europe has seen before. These people are the basis not only of the future independent trade unions, but of a future democratic polity.

David Ost, In These Times' correspondent from Poland in 1981-1982, returned to Poland this summer.

PERSPECTIVES

Citizens Party faces difficult task



Sonia Johnson, Citizens Party presidential candidate.

By Richard J. Walton

ALTHOUGH, GIVEN THE terrible fear of Ronald Reagan that exists on the left, this is the worst conceivable time to run a progressive third-party campaign, the Citizens Party felt it had no choice.

If we took ourselves seriously, if we genuinely believed that there is a need for a progressive alternative to the established parties, we had no choice but to go about the difficult task of building the Citizens Party. If we had tried to put the party on hold, there soon wouldn't be a party; it would wither and die. To wait for a better time is to wait forever, for there is never a good time to start a third party given all the obstacles, cultural as well as political. Even the basic right to be on the ballot is, for all practical purposes, denied in many states by the legislative action of one or both established parties.

So it was go ahead or give up and we're not prepared to give up. We know it is a long and exhausting struggle, that some will fall by the wayside but the core of the party is in it for the long haul. Sonia Johnson and I join hundreds of other party members in a longterm commitment to build the Citizens Party.

After all, what alternative is there? The Democratic Socialists of America, good people with good politics, many of them also CiP members, have tried the obvious, and much more inviting, strategy of working within the Democratic Party. They have little or nothing to show for their efforts. Indeed, one gets the impression they aren't even trying too hard anymore, rec-

ognizing its futility. If there's a progressive, even liberal wing of the Democratic Party, where is it? Who are its leaders?

There is another reason that alone would have been sufficient to run: to raise issues that must be raised. It would be fatuous to suggest that Walter Mondale is not far superior to Ronald Reagan on a whole range of domestic issues. Yet conceding that, even on domestic issues Mondale has done little to meet the concerns raised by Jesse Jackson during the primaries. And on foreign affairs and military spending, Mondale, like his mentor Hubert H. Humphrey, is a classic Cold War liberal, differing from Reagan only in degree. Indeed, in his attitudes toward the Soviet Union and on military spending, both matters of the most crucial importance, there is scarcely any difference. Plainly, therefore, there are issues critically important to the left that simply would not be discussed in progressive terms on the national level by a non-sectarian left party unless Sonia Johnson and I did it. To put it another way, the politics we share with *In These Times* would have no national political voice were it not for us.

Citizens Party program.

Sonia Johnson and (to a much lesser degree) I—she in eloquent speeches—have been stumping the nation calling on the U.S. to take unilateral steps to begin a process of nuclear and conventional disarmament, calling for drastic cuts in military spending to release funds essential to meet social needs, calling for the conversion of the American economy to peaceful production, calling not only for an end to counter-revolutionary efforts in Nicaragua but to U.S. support for the repressive government in El Salvador.

Certainly Mondale is not saying such things, nor is he calling for economic democracy, for social control of vital industries, for vigorous affirmative programs to extend human and civil rights to all, including women, minorities, people with disabilities, gays and lesbians, etc.

There is another factor to our campaign that seems to have been overlooked by the press, the progressive as well as the mainstream. They all recognize that Sonia is a radical feminist; how could they not? What they have failed to recognize is that feminism can be a mighty driving force for progressivism. It would be self-defeating not to face the fact that for decades now progressives have lacked direction and drive. Feminism, however, especially radical feminism, can rein-

vigorate the progressive movement.

The Socialist Party, to its credit, recognizes this and has begun to try to harness this still new, powerful current (perhaps the most powerful in today's world) to its philosophy that, while valid, has for various reasons lacked momentum in recent decades. But an old party does not so easily, despite the genuine efforts of most of its members, adopt new ideas. The Citizens Party, however, is not only young (four years) but it has been feminist from the beginning. Thus, it was comparatively easy, at the August convention that nominated Sonia and me, for it to become almost certainly the most feminist multi-issue party in American history.

If radical feminism and progressivism can work together, it could be just the transformative force necessary to make the changes in American society progressives have sought for decades. Conversely, if for a lack of vision, progressivism and feminism pursue separate or, worse,

There are critically important issues that simply would not be discussed on the national level if she were not running for president.

competitive courses, the day of serious social change will be even further delayed.

Finally, Sonia and I are not running primarily for votes. That would be silly. We may, given the circumstances, get fewer than the 235,000 Barry Commoner and LaDonna Harris got four years ago. We are running to raise those issues and, perhaps more important, to keep alive the dream of progressive, humane and democratic government. No matter how *ITT* readers vote, they can help us now (and after the election) toward those two goals.

Then, on Election Day, they can do what good progressives always do: vote their conscience. If in a given state, Mondale has a prayer, that could dictate one course of action. But if he's not even close, why waste your vote? Vote instead for the kind of politics *ITT* represents, the kind we believe we represent. For a change, vote for what you want, not against what you don't want. We think that's a vote for Sonia Johnson and Dick Walton, not to swell our meager totals but to demonstrate that there are people, a lot of them, who want to change American society.

Richard J. Walton is a journalist and Citizens Party vice presidential candidate.

Green Politics

By Fritjof Capra and Charlene Spretnak
E.P. Dutton, 242 pp., \$11.95

Fighting for Hope

By Petra Kelly
South End Press, 121 pp., \$7.00

By Diana Johnstone

The German Greens have just scored more electoral gains, this time in municipal elections in major cities of North Rhine-Westphalia such as Dusseldorf and Cologne. These days the Greens provide about the only good political news on the Western front. Isn't it about time to try greening up American politics?

Charlene Spretnak and Fritjof Capra wrote *Green Politics* with just that thought in mind. On the basis of six weeks of interviewing Greens, they present an introduction to German Green politics and draw their own lessons from it for a similar movement in the U.S.

"Unlike the journalists who had previously questioned the Greens, we brought to our interviews an understanding of the holistic political theory informing their work," the authors explain in their preface. The current global crisis and the emergence of the Greens are part of a shift to "a new 'paradigm'—a new vision of reality." It is "an ecological, holistic, and feminist movement that transcends the old political framework of left versus right. It emphasizes the interconnectedness and interdependence of all phenomena."

There is a disappointing gap between this claim to understanding of holistic political theory and the book that follows. The authors have obviously worked hard collecting their materials and transcribing their interviews. There is a great deal of information about the Greens apparently unavailable elsewhere in the U.S., and the book deserves a hearty recommendation if only for that.

The authors have done an honest job, but what they have extracted from their interviews is not always well-chosen. They should have paid more attention to Green *ideas*—especially ideas that were obviously new to them—and less to inter-factional gossip.

Relying heavily on such gossip, Spretnak and Capra have simplified a complicated political scene by portraying the

FIGHTING FOR HOPE



PETRA KELLY

POLITICS

The Greens: from the real to the ideal

German Greens in a polarized conflict between the "truly holistic" heroes personified by Petra Kelly and Roland Vogt on one side, and the "Marxist-oriented faction" from Hamburg on the other. From this biased and oversimplified account, they conclude that the "Marxist-oriented faction" is more trouble than it is worth and that an American Green movement must keep out such "opportunists" who would jump on the Green bandwagon.

Holistic politics.

Both authors have taken holistic approaches in their previous books—Capra on science and Spretnak on feminism—but they are still very far from having achieved a holistic approach to politics. The movement they seem to advocate would be a network of groups working in different fields held together by some sort of holistic creed. This is a recipe for holistic sectarianism—although that may seem like a contradiction in terms.

The authors' constant bias against "Marxism" figures in their book as some sort of original sin. They were told by their German interviewees, and even duly report, that not only the dread Marxist-oriented faction from Hamburg was infected, but that most Greens had been influenced by Marxism—with possibly the exception of Petra Kelly (whose schooling was in the U.S.). But their prejudice

prevents them from recognizing the positive contribution of Marxism to the political culture sustaining the Greens, even those who consider themselves non- or post-Marxist.

Their lack of understanding of political culture prevents the authors from making any distinction between Marxism in general and the very specific problems raised for a movement like the Greens by the centrism of Marxist-Leninist cadre organizations.

It also shows up in their naive identification of "Marxism" with "violence," as this passage shows:

"We asked Jurgen Reents, a member of the Bundestag from Hamburg, where he is also a member of Group Z within the Greens, whether the radical left might not have a romantic attachment to the vision of armed struggle in the streets since they are steeped in the Marxist prediction that that is how change will occur. He smiled and replied, 'I don't believe this problem can be approached with such a psychological explanation, that we are romantic enthusiasts of street fighting. On the same level, I could talk about the romanticism of nonviolent transformation of society.'"

The authors criticize the Greens for insufficient concern about the potential conflict between their support for the Third World and Green principles of non-violence and

feminism. On the other hand, when they come to discussing possible American Green policy stands, their devotion to absolute non-violence vanishes as they consider various alternatives of military "defense."

They are correct in their advocacy of conversion programs for industries in arms productions though their grasp of this issue is naive and incomplete. "No American president is going to agree to any proposal in Geneva or in our Congress that would substantially increase the unemployment rolls," they declare. Wrong on both counts. Presidents (such as Reagan) pursue policies that increase the unemployment rolls, whereas it has been amply shown that arms manufacture is bad for overall unemployment.

For an eventual American Green movement, Spretnak and Capra suggest a caucus that could "provide Green candidates for both the Republican and Democratic parties." This is their translation of the German Green slogan, "neither left nor right, but in front." But the internal conflict currently threatening to tear apart the German Greens is not between the "holists" and the "Marxist-oriented faction." It has to do with the practical question of whether to form governing coalitions with the Social Democratic Party. While Spretnak and Capra would start out by compromising with both Democrats and Republicans, their holistic heroine Petra Kelly is the most adamantly opposed to compromising Green principles by coalition with another party.

Kelly's own book, *Fighting for Hope*, is mostly a collection of inspirational speeches by the Greens' most charismatic leader. Her speeches are sometimes held together only by a free association of indignation, delivered all in one breath of urgent intensity. It is the excellent command of politically significant fact, the high level of information and political accuracy that keeps Kelly's free-flow lyricism from flying off into the clouds. With all due credit to her own brilliance, she and other German Greens owe their political pertinence to the hard work of a movement that has contributed to this high level of information and to a political culture in West Germany in which Greens can thrive.

The Green success owes much to this passionate, uncompromising missionary zeal to save a world threatened with extinction, firmly connected to solid facts and analysis. Although Petra Kelly is the heroine of the Spretnak-Capra book, I doubt that her politics would win their approval. She is far too radical.

The messy group dynamics of the Greens disturb Spretnak and Capra, who would obviously consider greater tranquility more in keeping with holistic values. But I think that the obligation imposed by American culture on the Greens always to appear "cool" and optimistic is a great obstacle to political clarity. Systematic pessimism and self-criticism characterize the Greens and prepare them for the harshness of political life.

Spretnak and Capra are opti-

mistic about the prospects of a Green movement in the U.S. They point to "an outpouring of books and articles that, taken together, are unique in the world for the breadth and depth of the new-paradigm solutions they propose." They believe that all this production of ideas can add up to "a coherent view that could guide an ecologically wise society free of exploitation and war." They seem to believe that this new ideal society is on its way because it is being imagined.

But ideal societies are reverse reflections of the present. In the 19th century, industrialization gave rise to the ideal of socialism, which was both a projection of the present and its qualitative opposite. That is, it projected the material possibilities of a factory economy as the setting for a society that was qualitatively the opposite of the society actually built on industrialization.

Now the advanced capitalist countries are changing, and their utopias are changing as well. Massive collectivism, idealized when it was the actual economic trend, has faded away. Instead, now there is an idealization of dispersal. But again, the ideal projects the real material trend as the setting for a society that is qualitatively the opposite of the society actually being created by this trend. The reality is the arms race, destruction of the natural environment, degradation of cultures, greater discrepancies between the rich and the poor, manipulation of individuals by mass media and giant global financial powers. It is the very real disintegration of our social world that strengthens the holistic ideal.

As with the Utopian socialists of the 19th century, we are back to the question of how to get from the real to the ideal. Spretnak and Capra are optimistic because they see the roots of Green ideals in American traditions. This is what allows them to be so conservative politically, to imagine reversing the order of the world through both the Democratic and Republican parties, without conflict. They cite *Human Scale* by Kirkpatrick Sale. "With decentralist values

The greening of U.S. politics would mean importing from the German Greens the unified visions of the connections between the arms race, the environment and the Third World.

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reaching so far back in the American tradition, how did we end up with the huge monolithic institutions that control most of our economy, politics, health care and culture today? Sale explains: The centralizing tendency has always existed in this country alongside the decentralizing—for every Anne Hutchinson a Governor Winthrop, for every Jefferson a Hamilton..." etc., etc.

This explains nothing! It is a sample of the "Dick and Jane learn to read" level of political thinking where those who shy from even the slightest dose of

Marxism are doomed to flounder helplessly.

Spretnak and Capra dismiss the Citizens Party claim to the U.S. Green franchise because "the politics of the Citizens Party is less Green than socialist grafted with some environmentalism. For example, its leaflets blame our problems solely on corporations rather than pointing out the entire web of interrelated causes...."

Isn't pointing to corporations political, because it suggests a possible course of action, and isn't "pointing out the entire web of in-

terrelated causes" meditation?

The people and ideas of the Citizens Party would certainly have to be a component of any American equivalent of the German Greens, along with the "Green-oriented organizations" listed by Spretnak and Capra, as well as Third World support groups, radical Catholics and, yes, nondogmatic Marxists. One of the most valuable lessons provided by the Greens is the ability of very diverse political backgrounds and temperaments to converge in a reasonably united movement.

The key technical factor accounting for the Greens' success is the electoral law providing representation to a party getting 5 percent of the vote. American electoral law seems to block successful import of the essential charismatic quality of the Greens, their uncompromising truthfulness and devotion to principle.

The factor that could be imported is the unifying vision of the connections between the arms race, the destruction of the environment and the degradation of the Third World. ■

confirmed his gloomiest forecastings. The corporate military symbiosis described in *The Power Elite* is much tighter and denser now than when Mills wrote, and the executive and military institutions of the state have all but overwhelmed its representative and participatory components. Now, electoral politics, the politics of parties and elections, is so choked by money, propaganda and image-making that no democratic voice can break through it.

Mass society.

Mills also shared the abiding American distrust of distant and hierarchical authority and the often-suppressed but never conquered yearning for a democratic politics and economy. One of the central themes of his political sociology was a call for the revitalization of active and informed democratic publics as the saving alternative to mass society. And already in 1948, in *The New Men of Power*, he stated that the political goal most worth working for and in keeping with our best traditions was "a society in which everyone affected by a social decision, regardless of its sphere, would have a voice in the decision and a hand in its administration."

That call found its echo, of course, in the "participatory democracy," of Students for a Democratic Society's Port Huron Statement that appeared in 1962, the year of Mills' death. It is a call that has never been absent from our life since Jefferson and Paine announced it to the world. Emerson and Lincoln and Whitman, among a host of others, took up the call. It was shouted in the Farmer's Alli-

BIOGRAPHY

C. Wright Mills revisited

C. Wright Mills: A Native Radical and His American Intellectual Roots

By Rick Tilman

Pennsylvania State University Press, 244 pp., \$18.95

By John H. Schaar

During this age of Reagan when energy on the left is low, it is bracing to be reminded, as this book on C. Wright Mills does, that this country has a radical tradition deeply rooted in native soil. A tradition that is so hardy and tenacious that the droughts of mainstream life have never been able to dry it up nor the floods wash it away. Nor has the exotic transplant of Marxism-Leninism, now flourishing in many academic hothouses, encroached on the native species.

The soil is still there and still fertile, despite all the concrete laid over it and all the toxic wastes dumped into it by the culture of corporate capitalism and the "national security" state. The roots are still healthy and continue to bring forth new growths in even the harshest seasons. Rick Tilman's book is about one such product.

Tilman's book explores the main sources of the ideas of C. Wright Mills—the forces that shaped his intellectual outlook and moral sensibility. This is an important subject, for, as Tilman shows, Mills was both a thorough-going eclectic, wedded to no doctrine or method or school, and a scholar-citizen who held himself responsible for engaging most of the lively political and social-scientific controversies of his time. Mills was neither a Weberian nor a Marxist, but he engaged and learned from both, and reported the results of his engagements in works that are still important (e.g., *The Marxists*, and *From Max Weber*, which he composed jointly with H.H. Gerth).

While positivism with its claims to value strict objectivity and neutrality was the reigning doctrine among most social scientists, Mills explored the close connections between "fact" and "value." He insisted on the element of moral commitment at the heart of all scholarly inquiry (e.g., *Sociology and Pragmatism*, and *The Sociological Imagination*).

When most sociologists were caught up either in what Mills called "abstracted empiricism"—cumbersomely trivial studies of minute topics without any regard for the larger mosaic—or were lost in the thick clouds of "grand theory" thousands of feet above the social landscape,

Mills was preparing his magnificent analyses of the changes—in American life under the impact of corporate capitalism and the expanding state. The resulting trilogy—*The New Men of Power: America's Labor Leaders* (1948); *White Collar* (1956) and *The Power Elite* (1959)—was a work of panoramic, almost Balzacian scope. Add to this his numerous essays, some of them of great practical and theoretical interest, Mills emerges in his true stature. During his short life (1916-1962), he produced a body

Mills recalls our tradition of pluralism, sympathy for the underdog and liberty.

of social theory and empirical analysis, deeper in understanding, and more provocative in its challenges to the established pieties than that produced by any American social scientist since Thorstein Veblen. (Mills, incidentally, called Veblen "the best social scientist America has produced.")

Not a Marxist.

Mills was steeped in the classics of European social theory. He knew how to draw from them whatever was useful to his purposes, without thinking that any one doctrine or thinker or method was the royal road to truth. He avoided doctrinal disputes about the one right way of doing his work. Thus, while Mills owed much to Marx and said that a thorough knowledge of Marx's writings is "essential equipment to any adequately trained social scientist as well as of any properly educated person," he was not a Marxist. He called the famous dialectical method "either a mess of platitudes, a way of double-talk, a pretentious obscurantism—or all three."

Mills also dissented from the Marxist "labor metaphysic," the faith in the proletariat as the destined agent of social change. His studies had convinced him that the working classes lacked radical socialist potential. The unions and their leaders had become junior partners in the corporate and governmental establishment. Far from aspiring to

change the system, the workers were, in Veblen's mordant phrase, "notaries of the full dinner pail."

But while Mills drew much from Europe, the deepest roots of his thought were in native soil. Tilman shows more thoroughly than any other writer has just how deeply Mills' outlook and sensibility were shaped by his early (and continuing) encounters with the social psychology of G.H. Mead, the pragmatic philosophy of John Dewey and the institutional economics of Clarence Ayers and Thorstein Veblen. But Tilman does more than construct a genealogy of ideas. His own analyses of the quality and continuing relevance of the ideas of those thinkers who greatly influenced Mills, and his appraisals

While many people, including distinguished professors and intellectuals, were adding their voices to what Mills called the Great Celebration of American power and prosperity in the 50's, Mills recalled us to our nobler traditions of genuine pluralism, sympathy for the underdog and support for liberty in three impassioned books: *The Causes of World War III*; *Listen Yankee! The Revolution in Cuba*; and (with Clarence Senior and Rose Goldsen) *The Puerto Rican Journey: New York's Newest Migrants*. These views were consistent with his earliest political orientations.

In 1940, for example, he supported Norman Thomas for the presidency because "his is the only antiwar party in the running." He valued cooperative ef-



of the ways Mills used those ideas to develop his own distinctive radical sociology, make this a valuable work of criticism in its own right.

Mill's deepest sources of energy, however, came not from any specific borrowings, but from his participation in and faithfulness to values and sentiments that have always been the best and most authentically American elements of our culture. He lauded and often looked back with longing on American traditions of individual responsibility and self-determination, and found in the skilled craftsworker and the independent middle class the finest embodiments of those traits. He never worshipped the two deadliest idols of our day: the nation-state with its sovereignty and its militarism; and the industrial economy with its insatiable appetite for resources and profits.

fort through voluntary association, and while many others on the left (and on the right as well) talked about the need for central direction and efficient planning, he praised localist diversity and experimentation. He saw in a decentralized social order and a guild socialist organization of the economy the most hopeful paths for the future, as exemplified in the writings of Terrence V. Powderly, the head of the Knights of Labor, and G.D.H. Cole, the foremost English theorist of Guild Socialism.

But although that was his long-range vision he never relinquished all hope that governmental power, under the right conditions, could be used to aid the poor and disadvantaged. Whether Mills could still hold on to that hope were he alive today is doubtful, for the main tendencies of the two decades since *The Power Elite* was written have

ances of the 1880's, the early Peoples' Party and the Civil Rights Movement. It has re-emerged in many of the feminist, decentralist, ecology and peace movements of our day.

C. Wright Mills sounded it in his life and work. It is no doubt harder to construct a radical program and movement out of this legacy than it would be to construct one out of some gratifyingly simple ideology, but it is only out of such materials that the left can be rebuilt today. Rick Tilman's book on C. Wright Mills shows once again how bounteous our legacy of radical thought and experimentation is, and how capable of producing new harvests when we are faithful to it. ■

John H. Schaar teaches political theory at the University of California at Santa Cruz. His most recent book is *Legitimacy in the Modern State*.

By Mitchell Torton

When President Joao "Jango" Goulart was deposed by Brazilian generals in April 1964, American policymakers considered themselves rid of a "radical" Third World leader. Goulart's administration had opened diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, encouraged urban and rural unionization, expropriated a number of unproductive *latifundios*, extended voting rights, moved to nationalize the energy sector, and strengthened controls on foreign interests operating in Brazil. In repealing these initiatives, the new military regime—just today in the final months of a twenty-year reign—exceeded all expectations.

And if the ousted Goulart was without friends in the Western mainstream, neither did he enjoy much of a loyal following on the Left. Oppositionists and guerrillas recalled with disdain his ready capitulation and flight to Uruguay at a moment when many in Brazil, including "constitutionalists" within the military command, supported armed resistance to the coup.

But mostly Goulart was forgotten—an ironic end for one of Latin America's truly momentous Populist figures. The military managed to virtually write Goulart out of the history books. Certainly, he was banished from popular media, leaving the vast majority of Brazilians, particularly the younger generation, with at best a murky notion of what had gone before the so-called Revolution of 1964.

Now, suddenly, all that has changed. In this most tumultuous year for Brazilian politics, Jango Goulart, though dead since 1976, is once again a household name. The resurrection of his memory stems from an independently produced documentary movie, entitled *Jango*.

Directed by Silvio Tendler, 34, a Rio filmmaker who studied film and history in Paris during a six-year self-imposed exile, *Jango* has become a rage. After squeaking through government censorship under public pressure, the film debuted in Rio and Sao Paulo on the twentieth anniversary of the coup, and immediately became a critical and box-office success.

Jango makes no pretense of impartiality. It is an unabashed homage to the much-maligned former president.

"I wanted to make a film favorable to Goulart," says the director. On the personal level, Tendler sees Goulart as a tragic, solitary figure. Isolated in power, abandoned in exile. Politically, Tendler has nothing but adulation.

"Jango was the first president to tamper with the class structure of the country," he says. "The charges of corruption and social chaos were mere pretexts for the 1964 coup, and therefore I decided not to treat them in my film."

Though the strikingly revisionist historical outlook of the film continues to stir controversy, *Jango* has received effusive praise as a powerful and coherent documentary. Together with Francisco Moreira, his film editor and partner in production, Tendler undertook a monumental task of archival research, spending two-and-a-half years going through more than a hundred hours of newsreel footage gathered from public and private sources.

As Tendler likes to emphasize, *Jango* was made on a shoestring budget of \$70,000, completely outside the auspices of Embrafilme, the state film company, with most of the participants working for a percentage.

The cooperation of the Goulart family was enlisted (the former president's daughter Denize, 26, participated as a co-producer), and former press secretary Raul Ryff provided never-before-seen footage, including then-Vice President Goulart's 1961 official visit to the People's Republic of China.

The filmmaker conducted dozens of interviews—with politicians, military brass, and labor, student and church activists. He brought in Milton Nascimento and Wagner Tiso, internationally acclaimed Brazilian pop-jazz artists, to create a hauntingly beautiful score that is at once foreboding and sentimental, and a leading opposition journalist, Mauricio Dias, to script the narration. The film assumes a far-ranging, essayistic quality reminiscent of Chris Marker, the filmmaker's mentor, to whom *Jango* is dedicated.

The biographical material, which traces the life of a rich landowner's son who became a man-of-the-people, is generously interspersed with historical parallels and interpretations that connect Jango's path to political developments taking place in Latin America and the world.

After Goulart's overthrow, the military institutionalizes its grip on Brazilian society as never before. The political climate becomes hostile to an entire generation of Populist-style leaders.

Even Carlos Lacerda, the fiery journalist/politician who'd been pro-American and pro-coup, was frozen out by the new military regime.

Latin American Populism, epitomized by Getulio Vargas (Goulart's political mentor) in Brazil and by Juan Peron in Argentina, is most often characterized as a dubious brand of authoritarian politics stressing the cult of the individual and charismatic mass appeal.

Indeed, the main contribution of Populism was to bring the working and peasant classes openly into a political process that had heretofore been the exclusive preserve of oligarchic elites. And, adhering as it did to the cult of the personality, Populism functioned largely outside of coherent ideologies and effective programs, thus becoming susceptible to the wildly divergent strains of mid-twentieth century mass movements.

Both Vargas and Peron showed an affinity at various points in their careers for European fascism. But both leaders also embraced Popular Front-style reformism, including open dealings with Communists.

By the time Goulart left the

scene, Populism had come to represent more than anything a political strategy based on mass mobilization, available to any politician with charisma and good ward-heeling instincts. It was a tactic, and not a political philosophy.

However, the tactic itself, implying the active enlistment of all social classes in politics, became anathema to military and civilian conservatives. The Coup conspirators of 1964 made Brazilian politics once again the exclusive preserve of elites.

After the 1968 coup-within-a-coup, in which the radical right wing of the Army appropriated power, events took an ominous turn, prefiguring an era of extreme repression throughout the Southern Cone of the Americas. Brutally graphic footage of police violence against student demonstrators in Rio appears in tandem with sequences showing Che Guevara's murder in Bolivia, Pinochet's apocalyptic ascent in Chile, and the spread

of state terrorism to Uruguay and Argentina—where the Goulart family finds itself threatened anew.

Yet, for all the historical context, *Jango* operates principally on the level of emotion; it leaves its audiences deeply moved. Goulart's are the failures of a solitary, idealistic—almost utopian—hero. There is no sense imparted of the "inexperience, weakness and indecision" or "corruption and chaos" of standard accounts.

With his open, affable mien and wistfully smiling eyes, Jango comes out resembling far more the Frank Capra good guy than the unprincipled demagogue we've come to expect.

If there was social chaos under Goulart, it was because, though a reformer and conciliator by nature, he insisted on exacerbating the class antagonisms engendered by Brazilian colonial and post-colonial history. If his presidency folded like a house of cards, it was because scheming

President Goulart delivers his last public address on March 13, 1964 in Rio de Janeiro.



generals and U.S. policymakers, who endorsed the coup with military maneuvers off the South Atlantic coast, were disposed to bear arms against a democratic government.

Indulging in a bit of Gaucho romanticism, Tendler reveals the beleaguered president down home on his *fazenda*, on Brazil's southwestern border with Uruguay, bird hunting, skewering *charruscos* over an open flame, taking home movies—while the generals plot his betrayal.

And when the hammer falls, the stalwarts, preeminently Rio Grande do Sul Governor Leonel Brizola—Goulart's brother-in-law and today the governor of Rio de Janeiro—are poised for popular resistance. But the president wants to avoid a bloodbath and protracted civil war, and opts for the plane to Uruguay.

He has seen the country swing like a pendulum between dictatorial and constitutional rule, and feels certain he will return.

In March, 1984, the Brazilian Congress conducted a special tribute to Goulart, at which *Jango* was screened. Shortly after the film's public opening, banners began appearing at mass demonstrations for direct presidential elections (*diretas ja*) proclaiming, I WANT TO VOTE FOR JANGO'S SUCCESSOR.

At a time when the military, existing under a pall of economic malaise and widespread corruption, wants to leave behind a stable, technocratic civilian administration that will ensure its safe passage back to the barracks, the resurrection of Jango's memory raises the specter of *revanchismo*. To today's governing elites, this means a return to the class-conscious politics of pre-1964.

For Denize Goulart, who returned to Brazil in 1977, and was shocked by the common lack of political and historical awareness she found, the film has been of inestimable value. It forms, of course, a sort of personal vindication. But beyond that, it serves as an important catalyst in re-opening the debate over the very legitimacy of the military coup, which initially enjoyed considerable middle-class support.

"I don't know if there would have been the Congressional tribute without the film," she told the daily *Folha de Sao Paulo*. "Today, this business of rediscovering the past is very important to everyone here."

Of course, there remain legions who recall Goulart as a mostly flawed leader. And even sympathizers often regret his overly conciliatory nature. Much of the criticism, now as always, focuses on the innate debilities of Populism as a viable agent of lasting social change.

As a mode of political action, Populism continues to be almost universally viewed as a thing of the past—even by Rio Governor Leonel Brizola, who has been called "the last of the Latin American Populists" by Argentina's anti-Peronist president, Raul Alfonsin. What is significant, however, is that Brazil has set about reconciling itself to its last constitutional president.

Because of a movie called *Jango*, a man called Jango is being restored to his place in history. And a man called Silvio Tendler is being acclaimed, in a country that boasts a prodigious national cinema, as one of the most talented filmmakers of his generation.

Mitchell Torton is a New York-based freelance writer.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

DOCUMENTARY

Brazilian film revives memory of Goulart



Howard E. Rollins, Jr. (left), the stubbornly correct hero

FILM

Racism within the ranks

By Pat Aufderheide

A Soldier's Story is constituted with the grains of truth of which stereotypes are made. A mystery story set in a segregated regiment of the Army during World War II, it uses the tensions of racist relationships to make fine drama. Not even the lingering traces of the screenplay's origins on stage or an earnest liberal tone—one that assumes we need our messages underlined—can undercut the fact that it captures something real and rarely, even in documentaries and in minority-made productions, caught on screen.

The corpse is that of Sarge (Adolph Caesar), a black non-com. Who killed him, and who cares? Was it the Klan? White officers? Or his own men? The black Army lawyer (Howard E. Rollins, Jr.) sent down to investigate decides, once he has fought the active resistance of local officers, to start getting answers by looking for motives. He uncovers a horrific story of self-hate, in a subsociety capable of destroying itself with the poison of the dominant society's contempt.

The key to *A Soldier's Story*'s success is that the solution to the mystery reaches beyond the search for heroes and villains. Of course we learn that whites are racist, although playwright and scriptwriter Charles Fuller (who won a Pulitzer and an armload of drama awards for the box-office smash play) is far too insightful to show us only one kind of racism. There is the blacks-are-great-athletes officer (Dennis Lipscomb), a Northerner; his commander, the assertive I-know-these-people-we-played-together-as-children Southerner (Trey Wilson); and the unthinking, don't-get-uppity officers. The film's atmosphere also communicates the pervasiveness of racism. In the opening scene, the

drunken sergeant meets his death after staggering down the Georgia town's main street, each storefront a statement.

But the film, like the play, makes its impact by focusing on relationships among the black soldiers who are being asked to examine their lives on the occasion of a death. The fearful, hateful Sarge is only the most dramatic example of the cost of discrimination on character, and the price of survival, never mind success.

Each of the men, whether the weak-willed Wilkie (Art Evans), whom Sarge stripped of stripes it took 10 years in a white man's Army to get; or the gentle, superstitious C.J. (Larry Riley); or the proud and angry Peterson (Denzel Washington), who has a personality bent cruelly around racial hatred. These are no sim-

ple victims, or mere items on a display shelf of horrors; they are people who create often-disastrous futures for themselves and others.

A Soldier's Story puts racism at the center of the action, with a largely black cast, in a production aimed at a mainstream (read: largely white) audience. And so it is not surprising that the film is a touch deliberate in its style. Studio execs no doubt thought they were far enough out on a limb already.

The director is Norman Jewison, whose other efforts (for instance, *In the Heat of the Night*,*And Justice for All*) have given him a solid rep for conscientious liberal drama on modest budgets and with adequate box-office returns. Under his direction, the film offers no stylistic surprises, and no clumsi-

ness either in a traditional Hollywood storytelling style.

Flashbacks are flagged, not just signalled; ping-pong dialog is executed in perfect sync with ping-pong camera work. Every once in a while you wish the film had been given to director Bob Young, who made *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez* into a fascinating and accessible study in cross-cultural misunderstanding. There, the camera caught not only different versions of reality through different eyes, but also differing versions when recalled by the same person at different times. Jewison plays it safe, using film to show you, and to tell you, but not to pull you past the discrete gap between spectator and screen.

The script also belabors its insights, although the wonder is that Fuller adapted his own play

as much as he did to take advantage of the screen. Still, the dialog sometimes creaks, with its full sentences and lack of overlapping or background chat.

It is hard to tell what in it is the raw crudity of life and what is stage talk to bring a message home. People really do use phrases like "a credit to your race," but if the filmmakers frame them archly, the shock value is undercut. The filmmakers have already been shocked for us.

A tougher problem is what to do about regional accents and black speech patterns. In a mass movie, you want them all intelligible to a standard-English speaker. But when they're cleaned up, they can ring false. "Leastways" with overtones of Shakesperian articulation just doesn't sound authentic. The stiffness of conversation among blacks in the film may be heightened by the fact that the cast assembles some of the best talent among black male actors today, and each of them surely knows he may not see another speaking part in movies for years. Most of the actors seem self-conscious, larger and stiffer than life, especially star Rollins, who echoes Sidney Poitier's Mr. Tibbs in *In the Heat of the Night*.

By the end of the movie, you feel anxious to know just who this stubbornly correct hero really is. All that integrity and propriety seems too much for one man, even if he did graduate from Howard University.

A Soldier's Story could have been a riskier piece of art, and it would have been better. But as it is, it's much better than we had any reason to expect. After all, the film was made on the low end—\$6 million—of Hollywood's budgetary scale, and most of the major actors bit the financial bullet to take the job. Every step of the way, the production was fighting skepticism from the industry's power people, the marketers.

And the gamble turned out to be worth it. The film has already demonstrated its appeal among mainstream audiences, and with good reason. It is American moviemaking at its best—making engrossing entertainment out of the currents of everyday life.

©Pat Aufderheide

DOCUMENTARY

Japanese-Americans as cannon fodder



Nisei Soldiers, three times more casualties in World War II

Nisei Soldier puts the history back into patriotism. Its meticulous, sensitive depiction of the World War II Japanese-American unit that became the most decorated in the nation's history steers a careful course between bravado and indictment.

Filmmaker Loni Ding, a three-time Emmy winner, mixes interviews with veterans and archival footage to tell how the men were recruited, how they fought, and how they felt about their days of glory and horror. The story is one of dignity and pride in the face of discrimination and fear.

Japanese-Americans were at first barred from the draft. Later, on pain of being labeled unpatriotic, those interred in detention camps were urged to enlist. Some fought racism in the Army and fascism on front lines only to receive letters explaining that their families had lost homes or livelihood to anti-Japanese sentiment.

Ding asked whether the unit

was overused and whether the men were regarded by higher-ups as expendable. In one case, the unit lost three times as many men as the trapped unit it was sent to rescue. The Nisei suffered a casualty rate three times higher than other units. Rather than imposing judgment, Ding lets the viewer draw conclusions from veterans' comments and historical evidence.

The film implicitly raises a question that remains for some future project in the emerging field of Asian-American film: what in their subculture led these men to display such unity as a group and such heroism as individuals?

The film will air nationally on PBS in October and is also part of the third annual Asian-American Film Festival currently touring the country. For more information contact Vox Productions, 2335 Jones St., San Francisco, CA 94133. (415) 673-6428.

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Eritrea

Continued from page 11

crisis points to the growing politicization of humanitarianism. Indeed, not only in Africa but in Southeast Asia and Central America and Afghanistan as well, the dollars and human resources of the international aid community trail after the storms of political conflict, picking up the human wreckage left behind, and in some cases, picking sides.

Some critics in the private relief sector say the U.S. government has greatly contributed to the process of politicization. Acting under the provisions of the Trade With the Enemy Act, the Reagan administration has for the first time attempted to block not just commercial transactions with what are termed "enemy" nations, but private humanitarian relief aid as well, unless a State Department license is first granted.

At issue is a little-known State Department guideline implemented by the newly inaugurated Reagan administration on January 30, 1981. Singling out Vietnam and Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia), the decision radically changed the kinds and amounts of even private humanitarian relief assistance available to the peoples of those countries.

"Donations made [to these countries] for rehabilitation and development projects," it states, "will generally not be approved except where the foreign policy or other interests of the United States Government are served."

Specifically referring to Vietnam, the guideline adds: "The private groups which provide aid to Vietnam serve U.S. national interests in maintaining a channel of communication to the officials

and people of Vietnam. The existence of this private aid program also provides a means by which the United States Government can, when the time arrives, send a positive signal to Vietnam by permitting an increase in the level of private assistance. However, until the time comes to send that positive signal, private aid should be maintained at a token level."

Thus a proposal by the American Friends Service Committee to install a well and pump to provide drinking water to a Vietnamese orphanage was blocked by the State Department, on the grounds it would enhance the "organizational capacity" of a country deemed an enemy nation.

Says the AFSC's David Elder: "This rule eliminates humanitarianism as one of the legitimate goals of American foreign policy." The AFSC has provided famine relief and other assistance to Vietnam and Kampuchea, as well as to other nations, since the '60s.

"The critics have a good argument against our using politics to regulate private aid," concedes a State Department official intimately involved in the controversy. "After all, no other democratic nation in Western Europe restricts private humanitarian work in this way."

"But the history behind it all is just too emotional," he adds. "In Vietnam, it's all tied up with the MIAs [missing servicemen] and right or wrong, Washington's just not going to let them get a lot of aid until the MIA issue is cleared up."

Ironically, even at the height of the Vietnam War, the Nixon administration did not attempt to block the AFSC from sending medical supplies for the reconstruction of the Bach Mai Hospital in Hanoi, destroyed during a Christmas B-52 bombing raid.

"Things were a lot less restrictive when there was a war going on," says Elder.

Many believe this new role for the U.S. government—its largest provider of humanitarian aid in the world—sets a negative precedent, effectively transforming millions of suffering human beings into geo-political footballs.

Says Tom Edwards, director of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies, the umbrella for private American aid groups: "It's not the government's business to inject politics so thoroughly into humanitarian aid in this way. I personally consider it too much interference."

Ironically, some liberal agencies that criticize Washington's politicization of humanitarian aid—American Friends Service Committee is one and Oxfam is another—have themselves come under some criticism on the same score. Both refuse to work among the Afghan refugees from the Soviet invasion, for example, despite their status as the largest refugee problem in the world today. They also eschew work in Eritrea, for political reasons. Sources within these agencies cite the fear of seeming to join in what they feel is Washington's "cold-war hysteria" against the Soviet Union or its allies.

The debate is growing within the aid community on these issues, although it remains to date a largely secret controversy—one that is kept under wraps for fear of alienating the many Americans who contribute millions each year to these groups' budgets. Nonetheless, many relief officials and agency spokespeople say they favor a more open discussion and debate concerning the influence of politics in humanitarian work. How can agencies better withstand political pressure from governments? How can they avoid even the appearance of taking sides in conflicts?

"These are very difficult questions, but they're the right questions," noted Edwards of the American Council of

Voluntary Agencies. "Certainly everything you do has some sort of political effect, and it's foolish to deny it. We've got to begin addressing these problems and quit pretending they don't exist."

"Everyone's afraid to be the first to admit the problem exists," notes Dr. John McMillin, whose World Vision is one of the agencies that have so far avoided work in Eritrea for fear of jeopardizing their projects in government-held Ethiopia. "I expect that once it got out in the open, this whole debate would be welcomed."

Ultimately, McMillin believes it will be necessary to extend the Geneva Conventions regarding war to the field of disaster-relief for stricken populations, whether in time of peace or war. First proposed as a resolution at the 1921 Conference of the Red Cross, and again offered at various other forums in the years since, this would guarantee access by the needy to life-giving disaster-relief as an irrevocable, fundamental human right. It would also provide relief workers with the same protection against political pressure or retaliation by governments that the International Committee of the Red Cross enjoys.

Meanwhile, the famine rolls like a dust storm across the arid Eritrean landscape, threatening to swallow as many as one million people. Dutch Inter-Church Aid monitor Frits Eisenloeffel recently spent more than a month touring the Eritrean countryside.

His conclusions: Up to one million Eritreans are "severely affected" and "in desperate need of famine relief." The report also found that "all reserves are now exhausted." If more aid does not come in soon, the document warned, there may well be "an explosive rise in the death rate all over the territory."

In that case, he concluded, the pitiful "sharing of survival may soon become a sharing of death."

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David Kline is director of Impact Features, a small agency for freelance journalists.

CALENDAR

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E.F. Schumacher Society Lecture Program, 9:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m., Yale University, Strathcona Hall. Speakers: Charlene Spretnak, co-author *Green Politics*, "Green Politics—The Spiritual Dimension" and John McKnight, co-director Center for Urban Affairs, "Limits to Service—The Crisis of the Welfare State." Panelists and audience participation. Cost \$15, students \$8. Optional lunch \$6.50. Reservations: E.F. Schumacher Society, Box 76A RFD #3, Great Barrington, MA 01230. (413) 528-1737.

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Socialism in America: A Conference to Mark the Centenary of Norman Thomas. Princeton University. Focus on 1890-1914, 1930-1945 and socialist contributions to American mainstream. Papers by Nick Salvatore, Irving Howe, Michael Harrington. To register, write: Socialist Conference, Dept. of History, 129 Dickinson Hall, Princeton University, Princeton NJ 08544.

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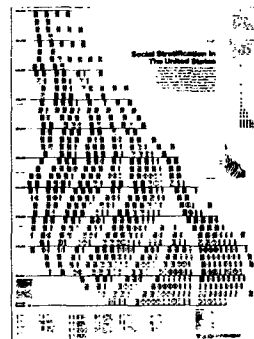
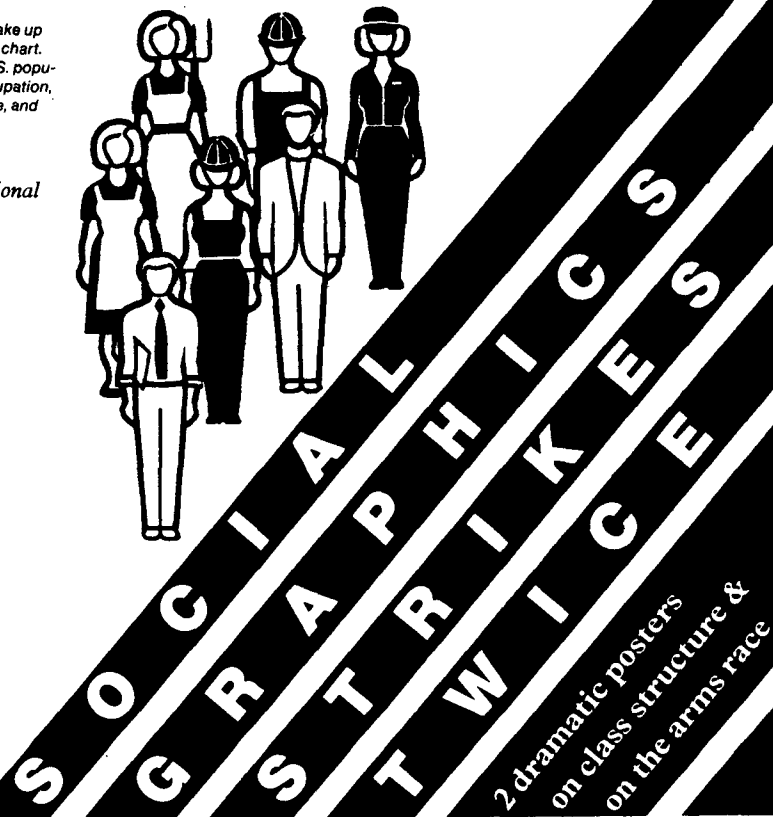
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Theatre

Continued from page 24

preserved anything in village society, who are actually constructing and not just pretending to construct. She's productive economically, cares for the children and home—she has to carry with her the entire past. My idea was to try to show her on a throne, where she really is, because in villages an elder woman often does get this kind of respect.

She becomes a wise woman who transports from the past all the knowledge necessary to reproduce and grow, whether it's popular medical knowledge or wedding songs.

The men no longer have that role because they have become complete slaves, doing the 'dirty work' in Israel. (Authors' note: More than 50,000 Palestinians from the occupied territories commute to work in Israel, largely in construction but also in service and industrial work.) They've stopped working the land, or work it part-time. The average Palestinian man employed in Israel has nothing left in him when he comes back—he sleeps and goes to work and sleeps and goes to work.

Israel is portrayed very monolithically in 1001 Nights. There is only one character who represents Israel—Gidi, the blustering rampaging military governor. Wouldn't it have been more fair and accurate to introduce other characters, perhaps representing the Israeli peace movement?

In *Ali* we have a lot of Israeli characters, some who care and some who don't. But the point is that in *1001 Nights* we showed the popular image of Israel—what the boy and his grandmother know of the Israelis. They don't know any other image yet. In certain situations West Bankers have personally encountered Israelis who have come in to defend an idea, to defend justice, and then they get kind of stunned and ask, 'Who are these people?' But otherwise the only image they have is the military government and the settlers.

What has been the reaction to your work from Palestinian and Israeli audiences?

We disturb people and make a lot of noise, whether among Palestinians or Israelis. On the Palestinian side, people feel proud. The villagers are amazing—they are part of the performance. They have a tendency not to sit down and listen; they yell out their reactions. It's usually a huge crowd, outdoors. People wait for us and we come once a year. They all take part in setting up the stage and so on.

As far as Israelis are concerned, they haven't seen our plays that much. Theatre people have taken us seriously. After we went to Tel Aviv last year, I received a number of proposals to come and direct plays in their theatres, or do something together.

Are your plays censored?

All Israeli theatre is required to submit its scripts to the censor, but there you have a person, a committee of 25 people, at least two of whom have to read the script.

The permit for our play *Mahjoob*,

Mahjoob was withheld at first but we won the case on appeal.

Once you get the censor's permit, you are faced with all sorts of other pressures. For example, when we perform in a village where there is no theatre we have to perform outdoors or in a schoolyard. Sometimes the police come to us and say we need another permit from them, besides the censor's permit, which is not true.

Or a government ministry sends a telegram to the schoolmaster on the day we arrive in the village, saying "Don't give them the use of the school because they are subversive." And you have to fight it, for the schoolmaster in fact is allowed to give you the place. But by then it's not a question of legality any more, but of pressure.

At the end of 1001 Nights, the young stone thrower has been captured by the Israeli authorities and is about to be hanged symbolically when his old grandfather suddenly charges in on a horse and rescues him. The audience leaves the theatre elated, from both the happy ending and the excitement of the whole production. But in reality the young boy would not have been rescued so easily, and would most likely be deported or imprisoned. Don't you think your ending loses some of the honesty and critical perspective that mark the rest of the play?

Yes, some Palestinian friends of ours who like our work have told us that we're never very good at endings. Unfortunately all of us—in Europe also—have been brainwashed into thinking it's the end that's important. We in Hakawati are working toward a theatre that sees not

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the moral or result but the theatre itself as its own end. There are a lot of people who are trying to do that in the West as well.

We meant the conclusion at first as a sort of joke, but it didn't come out like that in all the performances. The old grandfather came in on his horse like in the westerns where they're about to hang the man. The story is really still going on.

We also wanted some kind of resolution between the boy and his grandfather, who is always telling stories about his past and how much of a big hero he was in the 1936 revolt (of Palestinian Arabs against the growing Zionist presence under the British Mandate). Everyone who passes by says that his grandfather is full of shit, and that he was always running after women or selling old clothes. But in the end, it's not the intellectual and not the notable. If the boy is going to be helped at all, it might be by his old grandfather.

You mean by tradition?

Well, he's not a very traditional Moslem man. He's always stoned, getting high. He doesn't have the perfect image. But it has to come from there—it has to come out from the people.

(Postscript: The week of the theatre's opening, director Abu-Salem was detained briefly by Israeli police. After questioning about his political beliefs and about the theatre's license, he was released without charges.)

Ilana DeBare is working on a novel on Israelis and Palestinians. Lisa Blum is the Israel bureau chief of Jewish Student Press Service and was a candidate for the Knesset on the Citizens Rights and Peace Movement ticket in the recent elections.

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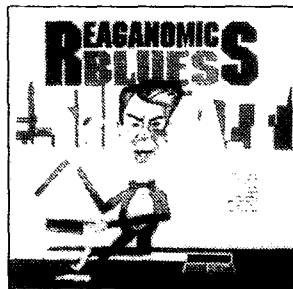
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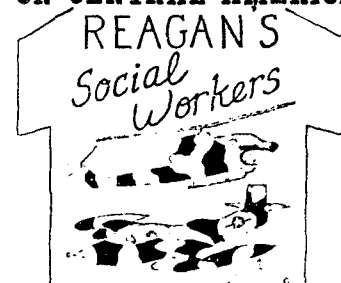
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By Ilana DeBare and Lisa Blum

JERUSALEM

UNTIL THREE YEARS AGO, the white Jerusalem-stone building was a pornographic movie theatre, catering to the more profane tastes of this holy city's residents. Then it was burned down by the fundamentalist Moslem Brotherhood.

Today, one of its rooms, painted in the red-green-and-black of the Palestinian flag, is a 400-seat, computer-lit theatre to rival any in lower Manhattan. Another room, still smelling of sawdust, is a gallery. In May, after months of renovation and one week of frantic last-minute construction, the building opened as the Nuzha-El Hakawati Theatre, home of the Palestinian El Hakawati theatre troupe and Jerusalem's first Palestinian cultural center.

The 14-person company, whose name means "The Storyteller" in Arabic, has produced five original works since its birth in 1977. Its members have toured Europe and North Africa, and recently received a \$100,000 grant from the Ford Foundation. They appear throughout Israel before both Jewish and Arab audiences and perform regularly in East Jerusalem, which was annexed by Israel in 1967 and is subject to Israeli civil law.

However, they are barred by the military authorities from performing their most recent play in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. In August, the entire company was called into Jerusalem police headquarters for questioning, part of a continuing history of harassment by the authorities.

Presently two shows are playing in repertory: *Ali the Galilean* and *1001 Nights of a Stone Thrower*. *Ali* tells the story—through the vehicle of 13 miniature dramas, each with a different style and perspective—of a young Palestinian living inside Israel who faces pressures to give up his identity. *1001 Nights*, loosely based on the legend of the Arabian nights, focuses on a West Bank youth who rebels against the occupation.

There is the town "notable," rotund and self-important, who stands in a kiosk with a telephone. He "is in touch with municipalities, the press, and 'established institutions' all over the world," the English-language synopsis states with typical tongue-in-cheek.

Finally, there are two characters representing the U.S. and Israel. Gidi,

the Israel "Hakem" (governor), blusters and sports Star Wars-type garb but frequently falls apart and rubs on a flashlight for his "Jeannie" to come to his aid. Their alliance is shown as a sexual *entente*, with Jeannie-America costumed in spiked heels and a black slit skirt covered with red, white and blue stars. He is held in thrall. Contemptuous of his failures, she implicitly threatens to withdraw her favors.

The strongest and most disturbing scene shows Jeannie and Gidi giving each other a cocktail party to celebrate their victories together. The waiter brings the first round of drinks and two pistols; they toast 1948 and fire several shots. With the second round, they toast 1967 and fire again, this time a little more wildly.

By the time they are toasting 1982, they are in a frenzy of drunken exultation: the liquor spills across the stage, the shots careen wildly, barely missing the waiter who ducks for cover.

The production stands out from other political theatre in the originality of its imagery, its open self-criticism and its technical quality.

Francois Abu-Salem, El Hakawati's Palestinian director, worked in theatre both in France (with the Theatre du Soleil) and in Jerusalem before founding the company. Handsome and soft-spoken, with an unshaped beard more reminiscent of Paris than of Jerusalem, he sat with us in the lounge of the

body and your voice.

There are many kinds of body expression in traditional Palestinian culture, but no one calls it theatre as such. And artists also have an ambition of not following in the footsteps of folklore. So our goal of starting a theatre and creating plays from our own culture and experience seemed very strange at first.

We were impressed with the technical quality of your productions. Sometimes people involved in political art tend to sacrifice technical quality for timeliness or a "message". Have you felt this pressure?

Always. It's a very basic conflict, between politics and art. Sometimes you find both a politician and an artist in the same person, but that's quite rare. Here, to achieve a balance is difficult because wherever you look politics surfaces in a very blunt and direct manner. In other words, you are a Palestinian, Palestinians have a cause, that cause is a national cause—and if you don't do something within that context, nobody listens to you.

So how do you build a theatre that is a little bit more subtle, that will have introspection, that will be able to see itself and criticize itself and to understand the more fundamental conflicts in people? It's a very hard job. Everybody is concerned with the national cause, and we are too, of course, because it's not just a matter of being "concerned." You live

'We have a just cause, but as people we're just normal'

troupe's new home and discussed his efforts to build a national theatre for a nation that does not yet have a state.

Is there a Palestinian theatre tradition out of which your work has grown?

I remember that before 1967 theatre didn't really seem to interest people. In Egypt, yes—but when the West Bank was under Jordanian rule, theatre was more a way to learn English or a fancy way to spend an evening. It didn't have any interaction with people's needs. I'm not so sure today that people actually need theatre, although it is a basic human drive to express yourself with the simplest but most complicated of all means—your

the frustration of not having a country and of not knowing whether you'll be able to stay here for very long or if you'll find yourself on the moon one morning.

But you cannot build a theatre on only that, because you end up with a few slogans and that's it. It's a crisis faced by most artists here. The whole world is not the Palestinian cause, and when you're an artist you're concerned with many, many other things that happen to humanity. One day the Palestinians will have a country, and works solely on this narrow subject may be remembered but will no longer have any value. We have the ambition to create something that stays. That's the reason for this building.

Are there certain themes that run through all of your works?

Yes. I think the main characters in our plays are never heroes. They're not supermen or superwomen. Some people would like us to give them a few "good guys"—it's more comfortable. And you need a few myths, a few gods or heroes, when you've established yourselves.

But here we feel that the situation is so fragile that it would be dangerous. You see, people who are involved in politics have always tried to portray the Palestinian as a heroic figure. Most national liberation movements, I think, try to show that because they are an oppressed people they are the most intelligent, the most combative.

The minute you create heroes within a national movement, you start to deviate slightly toward national chauvinism and racism. It makes you feel superior to others, more moral and just than others. But it's not true. We have a just cause, it's true, but as people we're just completely normal.

In 1001 Nights, two of the Palestinian characters are shown as particularly laughable, almost contemptible—the intellectual, who is unable to walk, and the village notable, who cannot see. Whom did they represent?

It's an old story, the cripple and blind man who get together and make one whole man. In the play they're important men and at the same time they're little men. They're parasites. The young boy who threw the stones got caught and got all the punishment. They were not behind his rebellion, but they made everyone in the village believe they were. The legend ends with the cripple climbing on the blind man's back as they manage to assist each other, but in the play they don't. They rarely do.

Of course, people here who are very slogan-oriented would like to see one as the left and the other as the right, and the hero as Fatah. But we never thought of it that way. Because you have these characters in every movement.

Who are they? They are the people who are talking in our name, they will probably govern us someday. But they are just running after events, following, never taking the initiative.

The hero's grandmother is a very strong character, a kind of matriarch. What were you trying to say about the situation of women?

Women are the only ones who have

Continued on page 23